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10 August 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1429

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EXCLUSIVE ATTENTION TO BASKET THREE PLOY OF IMPERIALISM

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 6, 1977 (approved for publication on 10 May 77)
pp 114-130

[Article by Dr V. N. Beleckij, publicist, Prague: "Europe at the Time of Belgrade Conference"]

[Excerpt] The success of the relaxation of tension and of resumed cooperation in the world, and particularly in Europe, among the countries which belong to different social and economic systems have scared the forces of reaction and militarism, which try to undermine this process at any price and in various forms and to bring mankind back to the period of the "cold war." They started with the unilateral and tendentious interpretation of the Final Act, namely, that the agreements contained therein are allegedly not binding for the conference participants, but only proclaim the intentions of parties and have therefore only a "moral validity."²⁵ To this we can directly reply that such attempts are absolutely untenable. The Final Act is an international legal document which was agreed upon collectively and jointly adopted by the conference participants. It was signed by the supreme representatives of 35 states. There can be, therefore, no doubt about it that the Final Act is binding for all countries which signed it.

Later on, attention in the West began to be paid almost exclusively to the "basket three," with which was associated virtually the entire complex of questions related to the fulfillment of the Helsinki agreements. If we listened to this comment, we could think that this document contains neither the first nor the second nor the fourth point, but only the third point, which concerns exchange and cooperation in the area of culture, information and contacts between people.

The Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, which were the initiators of the all-European conference, regard the Final Act as one indivisible whole and strive for its consistent implementation. For this reason, they categorically reject the attempts of the West to exploit only one part of the Final Act, apart from other questions pertaining to the so-called "basket three" (cooperation in the so-called humanitarian areas), in order to exact for themselves unilateral concessions and, simultaneously, to avoid the obligations which ensue from the agreements on other points on

the agenda--particularly the first point, which directly refers to the questions pertaining to achieving security in Europe. The fraternal socialist countries naturally proceed from the premise that the Final Act in certain instances directly stipulates the unconditional fulfillment of appropriate agreements by the countries which signed it, such as the observance of the agreed upon principles governing mutual relations. In a number of other instances--which concern the broadening of contacts and expansion of cooperation, particularly in the economic and humanitarian area--the appropriate agreements testify to the main directions of activity of interested states. Finally, there are also problems towards whose solution the conference participants simply registered an identical attitude, because the negotiations on them are conducted in other forums, such as disarmament.²⁶

Generally speaking, all provisions and obligations formulated in the Final Act are interconnected, regardless of whether they pertain to the principal foundations of peace and security or to forms in which cooperation in various other areas is to develop. It is impossible to strive for the implementation of its one part only without any regard to the fulfillment or violation of other parts or without acting in the spirit of the entire document, whose purpose is to insure peace and cooperation in Europe.

As for the attempts of certain circles to interpret the situation in such a way that the intensity of exchange and contacts in the so-called humanitarian area is some sort of yardstick and proof of the real importance and effectiveness of the Final Act of the all-European conference for the relaxation of tension and that socialist countries, in this respect, allegedly "lag behind" the West--then this argument, as was shown in specific examples, will not stand any criticism. Moreover, those who try to take advantage of individual provisions of the "basket three" and speculate with them should bear in mind that cooperation in the humanitarian area, which pertains to the exchange of cultural and intellectual values, information and contacts between people, is to primarily contribute to the consolidation of peace, to the mutual understanding among nations and to the intellectual enrichment of people, and not to the interference in internal affairs of socialist countries, to ideological diversions and to fomenting counterrevolution.

In the West they do not shrink from the attempts to directly intervene in the internal affairs of socialist countries and to increase subversive activity, and they use some provisions of the "basket three" for this purpose. In Washington for example, Congress set up a special commission for supervising the fulfillment of Part Three of the Final Act, whose members tried to travel to individual socialist countries "to check." This, of course, was refused.

The conference of ministers of foreign affairs of the Common Market member countries which took place in London at the beginning of 1977 decided "to investigate the recent events in Eastern Europe," as if their domains were involved. This was naturally rejected in an appropriate way.

At the present time, a campaign has been stirred up in the West around the alleged "violation of human rights and civil liberties" in socialist countries: We have in mind the campaign around the alleged persecution of "dissidents" in the USSR, around the antisocialist slanderous pamphlet "Charter 77," manufactured by the remnants of counterrevolutionary elements in the CSSR, around the problem of protection of "workers' rights," which are allegedly suppressed in Poland and against the measures by the GDR for the protection of its legitimate interests.²⁷ This explicitly hostile campaign has been publicly supported, unfortunately, also by some statesmen in Western countries, among them, also, the U. S. President. They assume the pose of defenders of human rights in the socialist countries and pass over in silence what is really going on in their own countries. A great deal could be said about it.

Ruthless persecution of people for their political beliefs is not only a widespread, but also quite a common phenomenon in the United States, in the FRG and many other Western countries, to say nothing of Chile, Uruguay and others. It is enough to recall for instance the case of Angela Davis and the ruthless suppression of opponents of the Vietnam war several years ago. Thousands of militants opposing the Vietnam war were forced to flee from the United States, and others were imprisoned. Torture and experiments with prisoners frequently led to the revolts of prisoners. Many war criminals, as well as persons who committed heinous crimes in the socialist countries recently, are hiding in the United States. The people in the White House receive criminal Bukovsky, but they do not want to see there L. Corvalan or to reply to the letter which Rev Benjamin Chavis sent on 4 March on behalf of nine militants for civil rights, who were sentenced, on the basis of fabricated accusation, to a total of 282 years in 1972.²⁸ The American government sets up commissions for investigation of the situation in socialist countries, while numerous ethnic groups, such as Negroes, are flagrantly discriminated against in the United States, to say nothing of the Indians--who still live in special reservations which differ very little from the concentration camps. As the assassinations of the Kennedy brothers and of Martin Luther King, Jr. have proved, the key feature of the American way of life is political terror and the financing of conspiracies abroad, as is clearly borne out by a number of cases investigated by the Senate: the coup d'etat in Chile, preparations for the assassination of Castro and so on.

There is no wonder, then, that a protest campaign is spreading in the United States against the flagrant trampling on basic freedoms and human rights which, among other things, was discussed at the recent conference attended by important politicians and public figures representing a number of organizations such as "The Committee of Struggle for Social Justice," "Center for Research on Problems of Public Security" and others.²⁹

Some people should therefore be more concerned with the observance of fundamental rights and freedoms which are flagrantly trampled upon in their own country than to look for their violation somewhere else.

At all events, the attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of countries of the socialist community and the tendency to judge life there through the eyes of individual renegades, criminal elements and, in fact, traitors is a dangerous line, which has nothing in common with the interests of peace and security and is in gross contradiction to the Final Act signed in Helsinki. It therefore meets with determined resistance in the socialist countries.

A. F. Dobrynin, USSR ambassador in Washington, called upon the U. S. acting secretary of state on 17 February 1977 and declared that "the Soviet party has a lot to say--and can back it up by well-founded arguments--to the situation in the observance of human rights in the United States with reference to the millions of unemployed, racial discrimination, inequality of women and restriction of citizens' individual freedom, rise in crime and so on."³⁰ Yet, the attempts to force one's own views upon others would not bring anything positive but would only complicate the situation, because the relations between states can normally develop only on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs. The Soviet party, therefore, categorically rejects this practice, but does not intend to be silent if this practice is carried on.

Since all these provocations have not produced expected results, as has been borne out by the reaction to the so-called "open-mouth policy" pursued by Carter in many countries of the world, among others also in regard to the U. S. allies, the people in the West resort again to the old, trite methods of explicit anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. Springer, Strauss, Thatcher, Jackson, Meany and other militants of anti-Sovietism of all colors are increasingly active in spreading worn-out fabrications "about the increasing aggressiveness of socialist countries," about the rising "Soviet military threat," about the effort of the Soviet Union to gain the supremacy in armaments in order to be able to deal the "first blow" and so on.³¹ Such inventions attributed to the Soviet Union are nothing else but arrogant and impertinent slanders. Their purpose is to spread mistrust in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, to divert attention of masses from the constantly increasing difficulties under the conditions of the present depression, to obstruct the gradual relaxation of tension in every possible way, to support feverish armament and, in some way, to justify, both in the eyes of the world public as well as of their own nations, the increase in their own military preparations which seriously endanger peace and security.

In his speech at Tula, comrade L. I. Brezhnev gave a blunt answer to these slanders. He clearly stated that the initiator of all rounds of feverish armament had always been the West, which had always opposed the peaceloving policy of the USSR in every possible way. The Soviet Union does not threaten anybody. It does not orient itself to the superiority in weapons, but to their reduction, to lessening the prospects of military confrontation--this is precisely our policy. As L. I. Brezhnev said: "We are striving for the development in which there will be neither the first nor the second blow, so that a nuclear war does not break out Our country will never embark on the road of aggression; it will never raise the sword against other nations." And the world knows it.

On the basis of what has been said here, we can therefore, state that we have now to do with a carefully devised ideological diversion, with a well coordinated and deliberately prepared new attack against real socialism. Since there are forces in the West which stubbornly oppose the relaxation of tension and the broadening of relations between both parts of Europe on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence--as it is convincingly confirmed by the very active hostile campaign launched against the Helsinki resolutions at the turn of this year--the demasking of these forces and the struggle against them remain as important now as they were before. On the contrary, in view of the activation of opponents of the relaxation of tension, the struggle against them is more urgent than ever before.

The duty of all people of good will is to contribute in every possible way to the success of the Belgrade conference. The meeting in Belgrade has not been organized to evaluate the results of the Final Act or to judge the behavior of this or that state which participated in the all-European conference. The work of this meeting is determined by its consultative nature. It cannot amend and revise the Final Act or adopt new resolutions. As was stated in the communique of the last session of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact member states, the purpose of this meeting is a constructive exchange of views on the positive experiences in cooperation among the member states of the all-European conference on the basis of the Final Act, on further efforts in the consolidation of security and expansion of cooperation in Europe and, also, in further development and intensification of the process of relaxation. It will accomplish its task only if it does not become a "bureau of complaints" and a scene of recriminations and mutual reprimands, but a place for exchanging experiences in cooperation in the solution of problems ensuing from the Final Act, a forum for an exchange of views on a multilateral basis on further steps towards the expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation and towards the development of new ideas on strengthening and consolidation of security. This meeting can discuss, also, some practical agreements on the problems which were essentially solved already in the Final Act.

Experience with the collective settlement of issues which are of great importance for our continent--that was gained in the course of preparation of the all-European conference--enables us to hope for the successful solution of problems which Europe faces today. If the participants in the Belgrade proceedings will realize what is beyond the frontiers of reality and what does not correspond to common interests, then the insuring of security and expanding of cooperation, which remains the central problem for Europe, will really proceed forward.

FOOTNOTES

25. DER SPIEGEL, No 31, 1975, p 17.

26. See PRAVDA, 26 February 1977.

27. See PRAVDA, 12 February 1977.
28. See PRAVDA, 6 March 1977.
29. See PRAVDA, 18 February 1977.
30. See PRAVDA, 19 February 1977.
31. See PRAVDA, 23 February 1977.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WESTERN RECORD OF CULTURAL COOPERATION, EXCHANGE SCORED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 10 Jul 77 p 7

[Article by Peter Barabas: "Who Is Hindering the Exchange of Information?"]

[Text] The so-called Basket Three of the CSCE is a favorite topic in the Western press. But, typically, they are not writing about what has happened in the interest of developing relations, exchange of information and cultural cooperation between peoples; rather, it is making an accounting of what, according to them, the socialist countries should have done. Interestingly, they are also holding us responsible for precisely those things which we have done in order to carry out the Helsinki proposals.

Things About Which They Are Quiet

This is deceptive juggling, blaming the other party even for those things for which it would deserve praise. For this reason, then, we would search in vain for examples noted in the bourgeois press of the extremely rich cultural relations of the socialist countries. But it has examples to write about. In the year of the Helsinki conference, for example, 38 French novels, in over 1.5 million, 25 English ones, in 1.3 million copies, 25 American ones, in almost 1 million copies and 8 Italian ones, in almost a half million copies were published in this country.

Since W.W. II, 15,000 American, French, English and West German works have been published in the Soviet Union, in several million copies, but the bourgeois press forgets to mention this, just as they forget that in these same four Western countries during the same time period, only 2,500 Russian and Soviet books reached readers. While on the Soviet book markets over 6,000 works from American authors were being sold, in the United States only 500 from Russian and Soviet ones were being sold.

The Western press also avoids such revealing items as the fact that in 1975 alone more than 58 million foreign tourists visited the CEMA countries and 35 million people traveled abroad from these countries.

Of course, the method of accusations also makes it impossible to list those examples which bear witness to the fact that, following Helsinki, the socialist countries further eased restrictions on the activities of foreign news reporters. Besides this, in the Soviet Union during 1976, 100 press conferences and meetings were organized for the more than 260 permanent foreign reporters, 40 national tours were organized and 800 individual trips were assured.

We Proposed 10 Times More

The demand for improving the exchange of information is one of the Western press' most frequently recurring topics. While referring to the freedom of the press in the West, they "regretfully" reject the rightful demand for more objective information about the socialist countries; they even hold us accountable for propagating hostile ideals. The press in the socialist countries gives its readers a more all-embracing view of the world than the Western press does. Certain bourgeois press organizations have restricted information on life in the socialist countries to the small opposition groups, and do not publish articles about anything other than the artificially inflated anti-communist, anti-socialist manifestations.

They often write and speak in the West about how the socialist countries place obstacles in the path of information entering the countries, while the capitalist world accepts the information from the East with wide-open doors.

The evaluation prepared by Finnish researchers in Tampere about the direction of exchange of TV documentary and news films, which is made available in Hungarian by the Mass Communication Research Center, sheds light precisely on the lies of such statements. This scientific work is professional in character, and does not consider thorough political analysis to be its task. Yet it is an extraordinarily rich resource for the political journalist, since by its cold, numerical, unavoidable facts and data it acts as a mirror placed before us, and shows who exchanges information in Europe and who does not.

The subject here is only TV news, but let's not forget the agitative influence and significance of news, which affects millions, and the fact that some of the more significant news is seen by hundreds of millions. The TV news broadcasts about the Helsinki conference were, for example, seen by 1 billion people.

The Finnish authors show in their voluminous study that the exchange of news films in Europe is uneven, and the direction of distribution is mainly West-to-East.

Eastern Europe accepts almost three-quarters of the news material offered by Western Europe, they write. But during the period under study, the

Western European countries accepted only a few items from Intervision. Intervision offers almost 10 times as much material as Eurovision accepts. During 1974, for example, Eurovision accepted 50 news items from Intervision, while Intervision's total offer exceeded 800 items. The amount of Eurovision material accepted by Intervision shows a trend towards increase while Eurovision's rate of material acceptance from Intervision is stagnant, and, in relative terms, even decreases from year to year.

One-sidedness

The Finnish authors also studied East-West information exchange from the viewpoint of content. They have found that the nature of Western news material accepted by the Intervision countries is substantially identical with what is offered by Eurovision. But the news material shown in the West was narrow in scope, and the selection was tendentious and completely unsuitable to provide a realistic picture about life in the socialist countries.

As a consequence of the small number of news items, and their concentration on certain topics, the picture formed in the West about the socialist countries is very one-sided, and it can even happen that the socialist countries are simply omitted from the televised news in the Western countries, we read in the study. The Western TV viewer knows, of course, that, for example, during the first few months of 1975, obviously a few things other than sports happened in Poland and in Bulgaria, and that something was happening in Romania and the GDR as well. But the television news of the Western European countries shows nothing about this on film.

Though, according to the authors, considering all socialist countries, only the amount of Soviet material accepted by Eurovision is significant, in 1975 even its share did not exceed 2 percent in Eurovision's entire exchange.

"Certain Gates"

As just one example on what this means in practice, Eurovision accepted two news items from Hungary in 1973, none in 1974 and only five in 1975! The situation is not much better with respect to the other socialist countries, either.

Though the study by Tapio Varis and Renny Jokelin relies mainly on past data, its conclusions unfortunately are valid even today. And their conclusion that the East-West passage of news travels through certain gates, and a large share of the material is obstructed by them, is also valid. These gates, according to the convincing data of the more than 100-page study, were built in the West, obstructing the news streaming in from the East.

So much for who exchanges information today in Europe and who does not. As regards who best likes to preach about it, we have already spoken in the introduction.

ALBANIA

ECONOMIZING NEEDED IN ARMED FORCES SECTOR

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by Natasha Buxheli: "Let Us Strengthen the Defense of the Fatherland While Strengthening its Economy"]

[Text] In our country every soldier is at the same time a citizen who works untiringly, like the entire militant people, to strengthen our socialist economy because he knows well that this also strengthens the defensive capability of the fatherland.

Our cadre in the army shows the same militant worker spirit in the struggle which they are waging to strengthen the defensive capability of the fatherland by strengthening its people's economy. To make the army as inexpensive as possible, to view everything with an eye toward economizing is not simply a slogan. It is a lively, active struggle by our people in the army to lower as much as possible the state expenditures for the army and defense. The broad popular discussion on savings and its positive results are a concrete expression of this great work.

Resources of great value are in use in the army and at its disposal. Many technical items, arms and ammunition, consumer goods, fuel, electric energy, rooms, classrooms and their equipment, many tools and instruments, uniforms, foodstuffs, and so on are the object of good administration and economizing in the army. Especially in this area, bold initiatives have arisen to fulfill the duties of political-military preparation with the least possible expenditure of materials, motor vehicle time, fuel, and so on. The results achieved so far in the further strengthening of the regime of economizing testify to a correct understanding of the great principle of relying on one's own forces. Making economizing second nature in work and life, the soldiers of unit 'N', mobilized to implement the great duties of the 7th Congress under the leadership of the party basic organization, made a broad study of the experience up to now in connection with the use and repair of tanks. By relying on the thoughts and concrete proposals of the tank operators and the repair workers, it was made possible to extend the interval between the general maintenance work of the tanks by 100 hours of operation, which provides a savings of 40,000 leks per tank. This is not all. The goal of quadrupling the period between

two repairs by 1980 shows the continuity of the problem of protecting, maintaining, and saving technical devices. The collectives of other departments have also pledged that the period between two tank repairs would be extended by 50 percent in comparison with 1976. The basis for this initiative is the constant increase of care during the repair, maintenance, and use of the tank according to technical regulations and the correct understanding that every piece of it is the sweat and money of the people. There is room for economizing in the work practices in our army everywhere and in every area when military work and preparation is done.

A considerable object of savings in the army is the saving of ammunition. The men of the military units and the office collective where the innovator Xh. Vorfi works were often disturbed by the fact that a firing practice, whose purpose was to check the accuracy of locating the target, used ammunition with a value of 1300 leks. A modification of the gun immediately solved the functional aspect by securing for each practice a savings of 1,292 leks. The ammunition was replaced by shells which cost several times less. These collectives have carried on discussions of savings to promote pledges and initiatives. Such an initiative was also taken in the use of mortar shells. In military units and subunits everywhere there are pledges and work is done so that the objective is achieved with the first round of ammunition. Thus this ensures the high quality of the soliders, their precision and dexterity, while also saving ammunition.

In units and departments everywhere, and specifically down to the individual soldier, discussions are held on an organized basis and with a fixed program to talk of the ways and means of economizing. A meeting held with all exemplary drivers and operators in the army on savings showed that there are still greater reserves in the maintenance and upkeep of vehicles, in competent repairs, in the use of their full capacity, and so on. This meeting concluded with the pledge that every driver who has been in the army for more than 5 years would save 500 liters of fuel and 2 tires. The users of two types of tractors have pledged to work with a norm which is four liters per hour less than previously. These and other sources and means show that reserves exist and that they must be discovered and used immediately. The pledges given are not and must not be fictional, only to make a baseless commotion; they will be harmonized in the correction of the technical-economic index figures of this year with the earlier figures and they will serve as a sound basis for actual planning of the duties and needs of 1978 which is being planned.

The party slogan that the entire people are soldiers constitutes for every person not only rights, but also duties, not only arms, but also the careful maintenance and used of arms, uniforms, and military equipment. All these things are a powerful material base which our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat puts at our disposal for military preparations. It is the duty of everyone to protect and maintain the weapons, to protect and maintain the uniform, equipment, and other items of military training. Good work has been observed in this area. Many enterprises and work centers have prepared the military groups and areas with their own forces using internal reserves, local means, and so on. This is a great source of savings since it does not require

additional funds from the state and it fulfills an important political-military task. But despite the care and attention of our workers for these means and materials which are put at their disposal, abuses have been noted, especially of military uniforms. Military shoes, clothing, and so on are used outside of normal drilling periods. With shoes there have even been cases where they were worn to work. It is important that everyone understand well that the party organizations and mass organizations strongly demand that the military preparedness, expresses military training and discipline but at the same time shows the care to increase its lifespan which is related to saving these material values.

With lofty revolutionary spirits, revolutionary mobilization and elan, the members of military units and departments, the workers collectives of economic enterprises of the army, pupils, students, and all the militant people are discussing and working to make the army as inexpensive as possible and our economy as powerful as possible.

All this discussion is closely linked with the great revolutionary principle of the party to rely on one's own forces, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his report to the 7th Party Congress, is correctly understood when it is implemented in every field of social activity, when it spreads to every corner and cell of our life, every enterprise and cooperative, in every institution and military unit, when everyone works and lives as a revolutionary to break the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

CSO: 2100

ZELENIKA: PROBLEMS CONFRONTING CZECHOSLOVAK TELEVISION

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jul 77 p 5

[Interview with Dr Jan Zelenka, CSc, general manager of Czechoslovak Television by M. Palovcik: "The Roles For Millions of Viewers"]

[Text] Czechoslovak Television has become an invaluable source of information, education and cultural enjoyment in the life of present-day citizens. In the spirit of CPCZ policy it played and plays the role of a unifying factor and contributed decisively to the consolidation of our economic, political and cultural life after years of chaos, insecurity and decadence caused by the crisis of the whole society. But Czechoslovak Television faces new great tasks. We talked about them with the general manager of Czechoslovak Television Dr Jan Zelenka, CSc, deputy of the Federal Assembly of the CSSR.

[Question] What problems are you encountering in the production of present-day artistic programs for Czechoslovak Television?

[Answer] I should, rightfully, be looking for typical phenomena in the dramatic programs of all television. But the readers of PRAVDA have already read an extensive account of the dramaturgy of Slovak Television, and I will, therefore, try to describe the problems of Czech studios, even though I do not want to obscure the overall view which follows from the uniform ideological and thematic plan of our television.

[Question] If I understand you correctly, you have a single plan for all of Czechoslovak Television including Slovak Television?

[Answer] Of course. We will soon be submitting the ideological and thematic plan for 1978-79, with the chief editors from Prague and Bratislava defending their proposals before the collegium of the general manager. Slovak and Czech dramaturgy are making use of their writers, actors, their respective production capacities and cadres of directors--in short, of the resources of their national cultures--but they are following a uniform plan, because television is broadcasting for the entire republic and affects all the population; and we want its impact to conform as completely as possible to the basic program of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

You see here a 216 page booklet. This is the plan approved last year. It reads: "Czechoslovak Television sees its primary role in participating together with other media in strengthening the socialist awareness of the population, forming public opinion and, thereby, overcoming prejudices in the minds, thinking and actions of some people and counteracting the influence of hostile ideology."

[Question] Are you saying that there is no place on the television screen for the classical dramatic production of past centuries?

[Answer] Saying that something plays the primary role means only that; the other roles are assuming certain lesser proportions. Television does not relinquish the possibility of wielding influence through works from the history of literature which, at the same time, enrich the cultural and educational level of the viewer, stir his emotions and broaden his understanding of history, of historical social groupings, etc. This is also why, in Czech and Slovak television production, you see frequently either an adaptation or rendition [not only] of classical Czech and Slovak but also of world literature or the staging of a world dramatic play. The question is in what proportion are they to be shown. And here we must be aware what the principal role is--here on television much more so than in the theater. And in the matter of social treatment we must devote to it our principal dramaturgic resources and leading authors. And we must not be deterred from this goal even by failure.

[Question] Why did you stress that television must play its primary role more than the theater?

[Answer] By its nature television is primarily an information and publicity medium. More than 50 percent of its programming is of this nature. Whether we like it or not, the viewer is subconsciously attributing this function also to artistic production. Perhaps you yourself are aware how everything that is being televised is, in your mind, being influenced by the daily television newscast, the atmosphere of publicity and documentary information. The viewer approaches even dramatic production under the influence of every day publicity and asks why they are televising Klicpera today, and why Balzac, and of what relevance Stendhal is to current events. In this respect, dramaturgy is more complicated and demanding in our case than in that of the theater. The legitimate theater resorts by 80-90 percent to dramaturgy which has proved itself for a 100 years. The theatergoer buys a ticket in full awareness that he will see a Shakespeare play. He wants to see it, he has a reason for buying a ticket specifically for this production.

When we televise a similar classical play without preparing the viewer in any way beforehand he asks: What is the connection. Why is it being televised today? Is there perhaps some historical anniversary or is the struggle of Henry VI supposed to be an allegorical allusion to the present? In the theater citizens ask such questions only rarely. I have enough experience and written proof that in television similar questions are being asked every minute.

[Question] To what do you attribute the fact that television concentrates primarily on contemporary dramatic production or on the adaptation of current literature?

[Answer] Still to the authors, so far. I have written many times, and am repeating anew, that television is a phantastic monster consuming 6,000 hours a year or better still 360,000 minutes, because every minute is so expensive.

We have few dramatic writers who can write for television. Some prefer to write a novel. While we have discovered the pen of the excellent writer Solovic, author of the serial: Lost and Found, and Jonas, the successful author of the serial: A Place In The House. While we give opportunity to the work and the remarkably skillful pen of J. Dietl, author of the favorite serials: The Youngest Of The Hamrovci Family and The Man In City Hall, we must admit that for television it is still not enough.

In addition to experienced authors, television presents an opportunity also to many young creative talents. They can test and try out contemporary topics in the wide-ranging television production easier than in the theater or the film. I think that both national writers unions should help us stimulate the current dramatic television production even more actively (but also by their literary funds). Conditions would be ideal if dramaturgy was able to select one out of three scripts for production. As it is, we have to accept what is brought to us, untried.

[Question] But let us be fair. Despite your critical assessment, television brings to the screen more contemporary dramatic production than all the theater and movie production put together.

[Answer] And there are some excellent productions among them, but much is still mediocre and here and there is a dud.

Let me mention one more thing. I said that the viewer is aware of the public relations nature of television and that he, therefore, considers even a dramatic television production to be part of publicity.

Do you remember how favorably the public received the Potsdam and Yalta Conferences which Maria Lucanova rendered in a dramatic form which so attracted the viewers? Or The Witness For The Prosecution, by Romek Hlavac, which were the actual testimonials of hundreds of Chileans rendered in a dramatic form? I doubt that such a form would be acceptable to the legitimate theater. But exactly such plays were very successful on television (also propagandistically).

[Question] Television cannot live from its own production alone. It derives a large percentage of its programs from Intervision and from other television networks the world over. What are the plans of Czechoslovak Television in this area?

[Answer] In Prague and in Bratislava foreign programs are closely coordinated, if for no other reason than because they both shop in the same place. The national television centers are used primarily for dubbing in Czech or Slovak. We import more than 26 percent of the programs from abroad, and we want to increase this proportion even further. We have neither the editorial resources nor the studios needed to increase the number of televised hours. Therefore, we must resort to imports.

But even foreign television production must be selected, and this means a lot of work for Czech and Slovak dramatic writers. Some important anniversaries can be satisfactorily covered exclusively by imported programs. Our studios are preparing enough of our own productions, for example, for the 60th anniversary of the Great October. But we would like our viewers to see the serial meant to be the culmination on Soviet television. It is a 13-part dramatization of a Tolstoy novel, Resurrection. But from intention to implementation is a long road. So far we have four sequels, and these are already being dubbed. We are receiving the dialogue parts of the other sequels which enable us to provide translations and textual adaptations. But color copies from the laboratory will not reach us until in September and [for] the last sequels in October. Whole staffs of workers will have to spend nights, Saturdays and Sundays to enable also the Czechoslovak viewer to see the whole great dramatic production of the Soviet network.

But I think that we have strayed a little. We could talk whole days about television. The viewers live the lives of the characters on the screen. A telling proof was The Man in City Hall. But the viewer must understand that, even with the best of intention to present the best possible programs, many of the programs on the screen will be mediocre. We do not want to have failures, and we primarily want to prevent outright flops. I was able to outline only part of the problems, enough perhaps to make you understand with what we are confronted.

The cooperation and coordination of all Czechoslovak Television studios, the broad-based reciprocal enrichment of the national cultures and the already decisive impact today of the ideological and thematic plan on television induce us to strive for improved quality.

We have already accomplished much since the time when television was politically, professionally and morally bankrupt. Millions of viewers like us. We want to reward them by striving for high quality in our work.

8664

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

SINDERMANN REVIEWS LENINGRAD PARLIAMENTARIANS MEETING

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 10 No 30, 1977 signed to press 18 Jul 77 p 3 AU

[Article by Horst Sindermann, member of SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of GDR People's Chamber: "An Appeal From Leningrad"]

[Text] A consultative meeting of parliamentary delegations from the Warsaw Pact states took place in the hero city of Leningrad 4-8 July. The supreme people's assemblies of the fraternal socialist countries dispatched their chairmen and several deputies to this consultative meeting. Thus our delegation included the foreign political committee members Walter Kresse, Gerhard Lindner and Guenter Hartmenn.

Leonid Illich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, sent a greeting message to the participants in this meeting in which he expressed his conviction that the meeting "will produce fruitful results and will contribute to the deepening of political relations among the fraternal peoples." In his greetings message L. I. Brezhnev said that this meeting permits "topical questions of effective cooperation between the socialist states in the struggle for strengthening international detente and for the cuase of peace to be discussed."

These questions mentioned by L. I. Brezhnev were also in the center of our discussions.

Breathing life into the Helsinki Final Act

We exchanged the experiences gathered by our people's assemblies since the Helsinki conference in contacts talks and exchanges of delegations with the parliaments of the co-signatories of the Helsinki Final Act, and [information about] activities undertaken by the people's assemblies under the guidance of their Marxist-Leninist parties since Helsinki. The reports showed clearly that, since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act on 1 August 1975, manifold contacts among the signatories of this Final Act have taken place and that, all in all, in this period our socialist Warsaw Pact states have concluded hundreds of agreements and treaties with the capitalist states. The time since the Helsinki conference has been utilized by the fraternal socialist states to

deepen the cooperation among the states of Europe, the United States and Canada in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, and thus to breathe life into this historic document of long-term orientation. As far as cooperation with the parliaments of the capitalist states is concerned, we were able to note that it has proved to be exceedingly useful, and that the parliamentarians of the West European and Scandinavian states have agreed with us that there is no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

We were also able to report what changes had occurred in many bourgeois parliaments, where many parliamentarians attempt to utilize the opportunity to preserve peace for their peoples and to actively support the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The concerted policy of our fraternal socialist states for strengthening international detente and for the cause of peace has undoubtedly borne good fruit.

At the same time, however, at this consultative meeting we expressed our concern over the political actions of capitalist governments that are in contrast to strengthening the process of detente and are aimed at a sharper confrontation in international relations. The attacks against the socialist social system have exacerbated, and are linked with a gross interference in our states' internal affairs. In utter contradiction to the spirit of our times the NATO states have decided to further push forward the arms race and to boost armament expenditures to astronomic figures.

The GDR delegation drew attention to the fact that Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has most firmly rejected the provocative statement of the London NATO conference that the GDR capital allegedly comes under a 4-power status and that the NATO states want to derive from this the right to interfere in our affairs. This is a typical attempt to undermine existing agreements such as the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin of 3 September 1971 which constitutes a guarantee for promoting detente in Europe and for this reason must be strictly observed and fully applied.

Disarmament Is the Most Urgent Task

Our delegation also fully shared the view expressed by L. I. Brezhnev during his visit to France that at present there is no more topical, no more important problem than halting the arms race and initiating concrete disarmament steps. Particularly serious dangers emanate from the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and the creation of new, even more terrible mass destruction weapons. The hysterical clamor of some NATO politicians and the military on the eve of the Belgrade conference about the production of the neutron bomb is proof of the devillish activities of the military-industrial complex in the imperialist countries designed to torpedo detente and to return to the cold war. The fate of mankind does not matter in this context.

In view of this situation we have come to the conclusion that the responsibility for world peace makes it imperative for us to appeal to the parliaments and the parliamentarians of the cosignatories of the Helsinki Final Act to call jointly with us for new results on the road of detente, for strengthening security, and for the development of cooperation in Europe.

Appeal for Detente and Cooperation

In the appeal which we have worked out to this end, we have pointed out the constructive proposals of the meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact participating states in November 1976 in Bucharest not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another, so as to pave the way for agreements on the complete halting of the nuclear arms race. At the same time we propose in the appeal not to undertake any actions that might lead to an expansion of existing or to the creation of new closed groupings and military alliances. We also refer in the appeal to the proposals for the common resolving of such urgent task as those in the field of environmental protection, and cooperation in transportation and energy production. We declare our readiness to discuss concretely other proposals, too, aimed at developing the relations between the states and peoples in the spirit of benevolence and of trust.

The program of our consultative meeting also included the visit to memorials of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Among other things we visited the Szmolnii where we were received by oblast first secretary Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. He showed us the rooms where Vladimir Illich Lenin worked out the first decree of the young Soviet power, the decree on peace. There is no more eloquent proof of the inseparable connection between socialism and peace than this first deed of the Soviet Union, and no better evidence of Lenin's ingenious policy of placing the goal for which the international workers class has always struggled, the goal of liberating mankind from the source of war, at the very beginning of the construction of the world's first worker-peasant state, and thus making it the policy of the state.

And in the 60th year of the Red October we, the representative of the parliaments of the cosignatories of the Helsinki Final Act not to let the idea of peace that is sacred to mankind be smothered by confrontation, but to strengthen it by cooperation.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER, STOPH CONGRATULATE CASTRO ON ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jul 77 p 1 AU

[Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph congratulatory telegram to Fidel Castro Ruz on 24th anniversary of Cuban revolution]

[Text] To Comrade Dr Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, Havana.

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR we convey to you, and through you to the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the Cuban people our sincere congratulations and fraternal militant greetings on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the day of the national uprising.

The GDR citizens are watching with pride and joy the great achievements that are being accomplished by the fraternal Cuban people in the second year after the historic First Party Congress of the Cuban Communist Party in the further construction of socialism. With the consistent implementation of the decisions of the First Party Congress of the Cuban Communist Party in the present "year of institutionalization," socialist Cuba is growing stronger, and its international attractiveness is constantly increasing.

As we concurrently noted during your recent visit to our republic, the relations between our fraternal parties, states and peoples have most positively developed in all fields of political and social life. They constitute a genuine contribution toward further strengthening the forces of socialism and of peace in the world. We will purposefully further develop this cooperation in all fields of socialist construction in the interest of the universal strengthening of the community of socialist states and of the unbreakable alliance with the CPSU and the USSR.

We wish you, dear Comrade Fidel Castro, the Cuban Communist Party, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the entire fraternal Cuban people new great successes in the further construction of the socialist social system in the first socialist country in America.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY ON NEW GDR LABOR CODE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Jun 77 p 5

["Ws." article datelined Berlin, 17 Jun: "The New 'Labor Code' of the GDR--The Socialist State Wants 'Communist Education' of Youth/'Endorsement of the Working Class'"]

[Text] At its fifth session in East Berlin the Volkskammer unanimously approved the labor code of the GDR submitted by the FDGB--which, after the SED, sends the second strongest faction to the Volkskammer. It goes into effect on 1 January 1978 and replaces the labor code of 1961. At the same time the Volkskammer approved the GDR's friendship agreements with Hungary, Poland, and Mongolia, as well as the consular agreements with Cyprus, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. In this connection GDR foreign minister Fischer, asserted that the West Berlin passage in the three friendship agreements is in full accord with the four-power treaty. In the agreement article, which reads the same in each case, the agreement partners commit themselves "to maintain and develop their relations with West Berlin on the basis that it is not a part of the FRG and furthermore is not governed by it." In his speech before the Volkskammer, Fischer also used the Brandt-Brezhnev formula of "strict observance and full use" of the Berlin treaty, [which has been] used again by Honecker since this spring [and] which the Soviet Union used for the first time on the occasion of Genscher's visit in Moscow. Previously only "strict observance" was spoken of in Moscow and East Berlin.

In the process of explaining the new labor code before the Volkskammer, FDGB chairman Tisch, who is also a member of the SED politburo, said that the GDR regards the right to work "as a fundamental human right." The new labor code is therefore "at the same time a new proof of the consistent and dynamic realization in our socialist state of the human rights laid down in the UN charter," for in the new labor code decisive basic rights are further elaborated--such as the right to work; equal rights for women; protection and advancement of youth; the right to participate in the determination and formation of social development; the right to be paid according to the quantity and quality of work; the rights to education, free time and recreation; protection of health and the ability to work; right to participate in cultural life; the rights to care in old age, invalidism and to material security

in the event of accident and illness. "In this regard no distinctions are made with respect to world view, religion or race," maintained Tisch.

This assertion is opposed, however, by paragraph 4 of the new labor code, which reads: "The socialist state fosters the all-round development of youth and their communist education. It creates the conditions for the development of well-rounded personalities who develop their talents and abilities for the good of socialist society and distinguish themselves through love of work and readiness to defend, through communal spirit and through the striving after high communist ideals." Against this determination the Protestant churches in the GDR in particular raised objections--but without success. All they could achieve was that in the paragraph on the area of applicability of the labor code the stipulation was incorporated that the regulation of 18 June 1958 concerning the legal standing of workers and employees in church institutions will not be altered. The new labor code further elaborated the rights of the labor unions, which conceive of themselves as "schools of communism." A right to strike is, of course, also out of the question in the future. In the preamble, the labor law is assigned the task of "shaping the relations of the workers in the labor process according to the socialist character of work and the principles of socialist morality conditioned by the views of the working class." It guarantees "that the workers can always participate in the social labor process voluntarily and consciously in accordance with social requirements and personal qualifications." As in the previously effective labor code, immediate dismissal--which, like every resignation, requires the prior consent of the labor union--is allowed not only in the event of serious breach of "socialist labor discipline," but also in the event of serious breach of "civic duties."

The draft of the labor code, which was published in January of this year, was thereafter discussed in a so-called "popular discussion" in which 5.8 million workers are supposed to have participated. In the process 147,806 references, suggestions, and inquiries were submitted, including 39,533 suggestions for changes and supplementations. Of these, 90 substantive and 144 editorial changes were taken into account in the draft. The labor code carries the endorsement of the working class, "indeed, of our whole people," said Tisch before the Volkskammer.

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CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

HIGHER EDUCATION ADMISSION CRITERIA--In answer to the question of GDR citizens as to why information on the social origin of applicants is still requested in the questionnaire which candidates for study are required to submit, despite the legal regulations granting each individual an equal opportunity to develop his personality, an East Berlin journal states that educational opportunities in GDR society are "still not entirely equal." As long as this is the case, performance "cannot be the sole criterion" for admission to advanced-education studies. The journal continues that, what is more, it is essential that "a proportional quota of workers' and farmers' children be constantly ensured in the rising generation of intelligentsia." The intelligentsia should come primarily from those social groups which have shaped the character of the social structure of socialist society. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 141, 27 Jul 77 pp 1-2]

UNSATISFACTORY POLYTECHNIC COURSES--The SED is apparently dissatisfied with the results of production work which all GDR ninth and tenth-class students are required to perform in industrial and agricultural enterprises. In this connection, Margot Honecker, minister of public education, has announced "new deliberations" on the improvement of polytechnic courses. For example, it is necessary to link instruction in production more effectively with instruction in mathematics and science. In particular, ways must be found to make the practical application of scientific findings clearer to students in mathematics and science courses. Furthermore, a "problem which is very important but not simple to solve" involves confronting the students more directly with the requirements of scientific-technical progress. It is necessary constantly to analyze new development trends in production and repeatedly to investigate whether the jobs of students correspond to the stipulations of the curriculum, so that production work does not lag behind social requirements. In general, the opportunities for production work have to be utilized "even more effectively" for training in high work morale. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 135, 19 Jul 77 p 2]

HUNGARY

RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST STATE--CHURCH, MARXISTS--RELIGION DISCUSSED

Budapest PEST MEGYEI HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Jun 77 pp 2-3, 2 Jun 77 pp 2-3

[Article by Dr Pal Foldi: "Religion and Church in Our Day"]

[1 Jun 77, pp 2-3: "A Consistent, Unbroken Policy"]

[Text] A well ordered relationship between our state and the churches, mutual trust and good cooperation based on strong principled foundations characterize the situation of church policy in our socialist homeland and in the megye. This has been achieved by means of a long and consistent struggle, an unbroken church policy with a good foundation in principle. Our work was made difficult by the contradictory, in many ways backward and sometimes even reactionary inheritance of the historical past.

A law concerning the free practice of religion was born in Hungary at the end of the last century, a law which stated that anyone could freely assume and practice any faith or religion, could express and practice it openly within the limits of the laws of the country and the requirements of public morality, and that no one could be obstructed in the practice of religious ceremonies or forced to carry out religious acts incompatible with his faith. The law prescribed that the ability to exercise civil and political rights was completely independent of religion. The law also stated that religious faith or church rules could relieve no one of carrying out any obligations based on law. Everyone was free to leave any congregation or to join another congregation. The law forbade discrimination among citizens according to religion; at the same time it did not proclaim the complete separation of the state and the churches, something which was not achieved in the old social system prior to the liberation. A good part of the prescriptions of the law cited remained on paper; under Horthy fascism the smaller churches were outlawed and their functioning forbidden. All this came to an end only with the liberation.

Various factors influenced the church policy situation of our homeland in the period following 1945. Our people inherited economic and cultural backwardness from the old world. Under Horthy fascism Hungary was one of the more backward countries of Europe. The capitalist social system was linked

with feudal remnants and fascist dictatorship. Thus our homeland was one of the more religious countries of Europe. The Roman Catholic Church, especially, had very great economic and political power. The Church owned almost one million cadastral yokes of land and controlled significant shares in banks, mines and industrial enterprises. Three quarters of the elementary schools and one third of the secondary schools were in church hands. The chief Catholic priests were ex officio members of the upper house which was one of the highest organs of power in the old state.

Even during the liberation struggles the Hungarian Communist Party worked out a political line which stated that Hungarian democracy should ensure the free practice of every religion up to the point that it was not directed against the democratic state order. At the same time the new popular power proclaimed the complete separation of state and church in economic, social and cultural areas alike. The party acted to realize this policy after the liberation. But some of the leaders of the Hungarian churches at that time--primarily Primate Mindszenty in the Roman Catholic Church, Bishop Laszlo Ravasz in the Reformed Church and Bishop Ordass in the Evangelical Church--did not want to hear about the carrying out of the democratic tasks posed by the Hungarian Communist Party. Mindszenty called the liberation a "great tragedy" for the nation and protested against the 1945 land reform in a special circular letter. The reactionary leaders of the churches hoped that the western powers would occupy the country and restore the old system.

But events justified not them but rather the democratic forces led by the worker class. The reconstruction of the country took place in a shorter time than expected. The reaction could not hold back the execution of the land reform which the Hungarian Communist Party initiated. Inflation was stopped; nationalization of mines, heavy industry and banks began. In 1948 they nationalized factories employing more than 100 persons and nationalization of the church schools began, which was a significant step on the path of creating a uniform socialist school system. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolution were victorious in our homeland with the great turning of 1948.

All this brought changes in church circles also. Those who sought agreement between church and state gradually came to be a majority. Contradictions sharpened within the churches and in the meantime the political mass base of the churches quickly decreased. It became increasingly obvious that our people had finally chosen the path of socialism. The churches had only one realistic possibility, to come to an agreement with the socialist state, and this took place in 1948-1950.

Two significant church policy laws were born in 1947. One was the ratification of the 1947 Paris peace treaty which stated that the Hungarian state must guarantee to every citizen the exercise of human rights without racial, language, sex or religious discrimination, including freedom of expression, press, religious practice and assembly. The law prescribed that the legislation and legal practice of our homeland could make no differences or distinctions among Hungarian citizens on the basis of race, sex, language or

religion. In harmony with this a separate law proclaimed the abolition of the existing distinctions which were disadvantageous to the recognized religious sects. It proclaimed the abolition of all differences between the legal position of accepted and legally recognized religious congregations to the disadvantage of certain sects. On the basis of this law agreements of completely equal rank were made with the various churches which went into effect in 1948 with the Reformed, Evangelical and Unitarian churches and the Israelite congregation and in 1950 with the Catholic Church.

In the first part of the agreements the representatives of the churches recognized and supported the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic. They stated that in accordance with church laws they would take action against those church personalities who acted against the legal order and peaceful construction work of our homeland. They called on the believers of the church to participate with all their strength in that great work which our people as a whole was doing to raise the standard of living and realize social justice. They supported efforts aimed at defending peace and condemned all incitement to war.

In the second part of the agreements the socialist state, in accordance with the prescriptions of the Constitution, guaranteed full religious freedom to religious believers and guaranteed the operational freedom of the churches. Our government assented to the operation of ten church secondary schools. Of these eight are maintained by the Roman Catholic Church, one by the Reformed Church and one by the Israelite congregation. Finally, the agreements specify that the state will offer financial support to the churches.

The current sum of state aid providing material support for the churches is 70 million forints per year. The State Church Affairs Office takes care of its use. The state aid is divided into three parts: to supplement payments to church officials, to support the expenses of church social institutions and to financially support the maintenance of church owned installations and monuments. Before all else the material support offered to the churches is of political significance. It is an expression of the fact that the churches can carry out their religious functions freely in our homeland. Without giving up our socialist principles and goals we will strive in the future also to maintain and make more profound the good political relations between the state and the churches.

It would be incorrect to narrow the 1948-1950 church-state agreements to the question of material support. In reality the essence of the agreements consisted of the fact that there was a final separation of the state and the churches and that political cooperation was instituted in a manner acceptable to both sides in regard to the building of socialism and the defense of peace.

In our homeland freedom of conscience is a constitutional right from which follows the free practice of religion which includes the right of the churches to carry out their religious activity without restrictions and of religious citizens to practice their faith freely. From the viewpoint of the state religion is the private matter of the citizens.

Freedom of conscience and the free practice of religion in our socialist society are the inalienable rights of every citizen and this is not only guaranteed by our Constitution, it is also realized consistently in practice. Some, however, incorrectly narrow down freedom of conscience to the right of free practice of religion forgetting that the freedom of worldview persuasion means a good bit more than ensuring the free practice of religion. In our homeland life outside of a religious congregation and the freedom of materialist or atheist convictions are also constitutional rights including, naturally, the right to be indifferent toward religious faith or atheist convictions. Worldview convictions cannot be regulated by administrative tools or legal sanctions; results can be achieved here only by means of persuasion, education and ideological work. Only thus can we progress and further strengthen the socialist character of our society.

We are realizing in a consistent way the teachings of Lenin in judging religiosity. "We must fight with extraordinary carefulness," Lenin wrote, "against religious prejudices; those who offend religious feelings in the heat of the struggle do much harm. We must fight with propaganda and enlightenment work. If we sharpen the struggle we could stir up the masses; such a struggle will consolidate the division of the masses according to religious principles whereas our strength is in unity. The most profound sources of religious prejudices are poverty and ignorance; it is against these troubles that we must fight."

In accordance with the Lenin principle our party acts against ultra-left wing impatience and manifestations of sectarian pseudo-radicalism. It sometimes happens that some would like to limit or force back the religious activity of the churches by means of administrative tools or legal sanctions. These people consider the religious worldview and the existence of a church ideology unacceptable since they view religion as the work of swindlers or the product of ignorance and they look on religious awareness or faith in God as simply a harmful ideological remnant of the old society. There can be no doubt that the social roots of religion largely derive from olden times, primarily from class societies based on private property. But at the same time it would be a mistake to forget that religion also has roots in the complex and contradictory process of building socialism, in the transition from capitalism to communism, roots which in part preserve the old religious awareness and in part temporarily aid the survival of religion, feeding the religious worldview and faith in otherworldly forces.

But the rejection of petit bourgeois impatience should not be accompanied by the other extreme, neutrality toward the religious ideology, ideological compromise or unprincipled opportunism. The guiding ideology of socialism is Marxism-Leninism which is based on the worldview of dialectical and historical materialism. The religious world view is radically opposed to this for it expresses a view which reflects the essence of reality falsely. The unavoidability of ideological struggle between them follows necessarily from the ideological opposition of the two worldviews. This struggle is closely linked to the ideological education work of the party, the KISZ and the socialist state, to the strengthening of socialist awareness and way of life.

At the 11th Party Congress Janos Kadar pointed out: "Our achievements are creating a favorable foundation for further progress in ideological, scientific and cultural life. We can summarize our chief goal by saying that we should further strengthen the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, the influence of the socialist worldview and the socialist awareness and socialist morality of the masses in our society."

[2 Jun 77, pp 2-3: "Can One Be a Believer if He is in the Party or the KISZ?"]

[Text] The organizational regulations clearly state that one can be a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party if he adopts as his own the Marxist-Leninist ideals, accepts the policy, line and organizational regulations of the party and struggles selflessly for their realization. The requirements accompanying party membership include moral and political integrity, a socialist way of life and giving a communist example in work, behavior and social activity. At the same time the organizational regulations of the party do not regard a worldview conviction differing from Marxism-Leninism as cause for automatic rejection. To put it differently, a conscious atheist conviction is not an absolute requirement for entry into the party; those can also join who have not yet gone so far in their worldview as to adopt the convictions of scientific atheism, whose communist worldview is not yet fully formed, but who are approaching the worldview of Marxism-Leninism and who meet the requirements for admission as set forth by the organizational regulations.

The party reckons realistically with the fact that its ranks may be entered not only by atheists but also by people who are not yet fully mature in regard to worldview, perhaps even retaining remnants of the religious worldview. Naturally we are not speaking here of those who are fanatically, bigottedly religious or who openly proclaim anti-Marxist, anti-socialist views. It would not be correct to admit them to the party. But it would be correct to admit those whose worldview is partly immature, who do not yet have a scientific atheist conviction and are not more profoundly acquainted with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism but who have proven their conscious commitment to the cause of socialism with their work and personal lives and who can live, work and think in a way worthy of a communist. Even today there are party members who have incorrect views, whose worldview, ideological preparedness and conviction do not correspond in every respect to the requirements. Before all else they must be helped with education and persuasion to raise their views and preparedness to a higher level, to make the teachings of Marxism-Leninism their own.

Naturally it does not follow from all this that one can regard religion simply as a private matter in the party.

Lenin writes: "Religion is not a private matter from the viewpoint of the party of the socialist proletariat. Our party is an alliance of conscious, vanguard fighters fighting for the liberation of the worker class. This

alliance cannot be and should not be indifferent to that lack of awareness, intellectual darkness or obscurantism which appears in a religious conviction."

What does it mean that religion is not a private matter in the party? Before all else it means that the party demands from its members that they master the Marxist-Leninist worldview, accept the policy and organizational regulations of the party, live according to the rules of socialist morality and give an example in their public and private lives. At the same time, the spreading of religious views within the ranks of the party is impermissible. Communists should see clearly today that they cannot take offices in church organizations, cannot proclaim religious views, cannot do organizational work for the church, cannot support a church materially or morally, cannot regard religion as a private matter and cannot participate in an active way in church ceremonies or religious programs.

Passive participation in religious ceremonies should be judged differently. The party generally recognized several years ago that some of its members were participating passively in church weddings, christenings and confirmations and were attending church ceremonies without participating actively in them. The situation has changed since then and the demands are higher today. Party members can participate only in church funerals. Naturally, even here they cannot take an active role, they cannot organize such funerals and they must behave at them in a manner worthy of a communist.

The situation is different if a party member participates in any way in other religious ceremonies--weddings, christenings, confirmations, etc. This is impermissible and violates party discipline. Some say that they attend church ceremonies for the sake of family peace and good relations with friends and relatives. One cannot agree with this because the family life and kinship and friendly contacts of a communist cannot be built on ideological concessions and compromise. Experience proves that when a communist refuses to participate in a church ceremony or church program--with the exception of funerals--citing his convictions, his family, relatives and friends to not condemn him for it but understand and respect him.

Socialist celebrations for family life have developed already in our homeland--name giving ceremonies, Little Drummer and Pioneer initiations, social weddings, etc. In many places these are more attractive, of higher quality, more exciting and more uplifting than the church ceremonies. It is the obligation of a party member to so order his family life that the socialist celebrations of the family should represent for him and for his family frameworks and forms for celebrating the great events of life.

There was a time when participation in church ceremonies could be justified as party contacts with the masses for public opinion was formerly at this level. The situation is radically different now; public opinion no longer approves but generally condemns the behavior of a party member who participates in church ceremonies although it expects that he will attend church

funerals. The party reckons realistically with this circumstance too even though public opinion is not the crucial thing in judging the question but rather the principled policy of the party, strengthening party discipline and increasing the demands accompanying party membership.

The requirements made of KISZ members are somewhat different. The KISZ is the communist youth federation of the party but also the universal socialist organization of all Hungarian youth. Starting from this principle religiosity is judged from the viewpoint of the KISZ in a basically similar manner to the demands made of party members but in a way which takes well into consideration the different characteristics and concrete circumstances of the KISZ. The essence can be summed up by saying that the organizational regulations of the KISZ do not regard religiosity as cause for automatic rejection; the KISZ reckons realistically with the fact that young people with religious worldviews can enter its ranks but within the KISZ, as the communist youth organization, religion is not a private matter.

Thus from the viewpoint of the KISZ two things must be clearly distinguished from one another. One is the judgment as to who can be a KISZ member; the other is whether KISZ members can be indifferent to world view convictions, whether religiosity is a private matter. The organizational regulations give a clear answer to the question of who can be a KISZ member when they correctly do not prescribe a conscious atheist conviction as a requirement, making possible the admission of those young people who are religious in some way.

Even this principle must be applied in accordance with the peculiarities of different places, taking into consideration the given circumstances. Situations differ from one another and worldview requirements can differ, for example for a village KISZ organization working under more difficult conditions, farm centers, etc. or among factory youth or university and college students. The standard can be put higher for the latter, a more developed worldview level can be required, but in no area would it be correct to tie admission to the KISZ to a prior atheist conviction or mature materialist worldview and it would be a mistake to say that one cannot be a KISZ member if any religiosity can be demonstrated in regard to him.

The KISZ is the communist educational school of the youth; KISZ life is one of the most important tests in preparing for party membership, the beginning of becoming a communist. So one cannot demand in advance of those of KISZ age a mature worldview conviction and it would not be correct to make an atheist worldview an absolute demand for admission to the KISZ. We know that the road leading to a conscious assumption of materialist conviction and the atheist worldview is not the same for everyone. There are those who have been educated in the spirit of the new worldview since childhood and the atheist worldview conviction develops in them without any transition. Others have been affected by religious influences and they either become religious or the old and the new worldview are mixed inside them.

One can frequently observe that the new worldview appears first coupled with an indifference to religion; in the first stage of leaving the religious worldview a conscious atheist conviction does not develop. This is especially characteristic of the worldview development of young people and there are a number of them who do not have a completely mature materialist worldview in the above sense. The KISZ cannot abandon them, it must gather them together and help them to raise their worldview to a higher level. It follows from this that as with the party religion is not a private matter in the KISZ either. Before all else this means that the KISZ educates its members to adopt its only worldview, Marxism-Leninism, to a materialist, atheist conviction and for this reason it acts against the religious prejudices existing in the worldview of some of its members, and this means ideological struggle. The tool for this is worldview education, convincing the KISZ membership of the correctness and truth of the Marxist-Leninist worldview and of the fact that religion, as false awareness, is irreconcilably opposed to the worldview of Marxism-Leninism. It would not be correct to permit the spreading of religious views within the KISZ either and it would be a mistake to make room for religious influence or an acceptance of the articles of faith. KISZ membership is accompanied by the demand that young communists not participate in church ceremonies, with the exception of church funerals, that they not support or aid the religious activities of churches or sects, that they give an example of commitment to Marxism-Leninism and that they live in the spirit of socialist morality and way of life.

The education of KISZ members with remnants of the religious worldview must be conducted circumspectly and with great understanding, conscious of the fact that the religious awareness does not live in them with uniform depth. In any case, to a large extent religiosity has an emotional content and it would be a mistake to brand or ridicule those who have not completely broken with their religious prejudices. Respecting even worldview convictions which differ from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we still cannot make concessions in principle, cannot be indifferent to religion and cannot give up the effort to aid every KISZ member to adopt the new worldview, strengthening in our youth a conscious commitment to our ideals and to the cause of socialism.

8984

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

YOUTH'S IGNORANCE OF RECENT HISTORY, POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS DISCLOSED

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 10 Jul 77 pp 16-17

[Article by Gabor Czakor: "Historical (Lack of) Knowledge"]

[Text] I am lucky that my lot often brings me into touch with young people. I love to talk with them, although it is very difficult. Our vocabulary is different; our knowledge is different, and certain facts and events evoke different things from our consciousness.

Once I met a young man; he was a half-orphan and did not even know his father's family but showed a great nostalgia that way. He asked me why his father had to fight against the Soviet Union when he went to (had to go to) war.

Four years ago the name of Matyas Rakosi came up in a reading group for seventh and eighth graders. The similarly called and at that time still an inside left player, Gyula Rakosi, was known to all the boys, and even more to the girls, but no one knew the politician. And still, there was some dim light; they suspected some historical person behind the name, and rather a negative character. I received replies like this: "a powerful man," "a great powerful man," "a baron," "a judge," and "the country's chief judge, who disposed of everything." About forty of them put his works before 1945, in the first half of the century, and all of them agreed with a comment that "it is certain he was not a communist."

In subsequent reading groups at writer-reader discussions with young people and at open literary meetings, I frequently asked this same question — with the same results. At a recent open literary hour, I had occasion to have two secondary school classes and three industrial trades classes write (to keep it only from being a questioning of myself) improvised answers on our history between 1945-1957. I was interested in historical personalities, institutions, events, and significant creations in any field of work. My interviewees were all over 15 years of age and younger than 18 years. They were supposed to have studied the period in the 8th grade of general school (in gymnasium and industrial school, it is material for the final year) and to have heard about it at home where parents and older relatives lived through the events. At least when I was a boy we got our history not only through the schools but in the family circle, and from friends. The elders passed on to the children the joys

and sorrows that befell my native village in history. As a boy in britches, I first heard of Miklos Horthy something which I still remember. The father of one of my friends was jailed for 5 days for villifying the regent with the cunning question: "Which is the bubble that disappears in water?" (Namely, Horthy's profile on the 5-pengo coin.)

I asked first about four names: Matyas Rakosi, Laszlo Rajk, Jozsef Mindszenty, and Zoltan Tildy — from a total of 118 students. Twenty-five answered "correctly" on Rakosi. I set low standards: give by and large the time of his activity and at least one of his offices. "Leader of the MSZMP from 1950-1956, abuses, excessively left wing, personal cult." "Secretary-general of the MSZMP in the 1950's." "Ruled under the personal cult in the period after fascism." "An important political personality of the 1950's. Introduction of the personal cult. (Odious)." Twenty-seven gave no answer at all; twenty-two sensed something. "The country's leader after the war, but I think after that he ran away." "He could have been head of state, the once Rakosi era." Another defined the time "exactly" as "the country's leader in World War II, and we call this the Rakosi period." "A Hungarian politician, played a leading role in the '56 counter-revolution." "He was a right-wing politician." The latter replies lead us into a strange vegetable garden. Forty-four of the students gave expressly bad answers, as in the manner above; others, a total of 32, placed Rakosi in a different era. In addition to their weak knowledge, they also had only heard and learned good things about socialism, and they could not fit a "negative figure" into this knowledge and conviction.

"I know of him, but sorry I don't know anything about him. Fascist." "An Arrowist leader around '45." "In World War II, a Horthy general." "He was prime minister in the thirties and forties. Oppressed the people." "Matyas Rakossy (sic!) was one of the outstanding political personalities of the counter-revolutionary system in the 1930's following World War I. Fascist prime minister." "Reactionary Hungarian minister. German party. Man on the white horse." "Arrowist leader. Put the country on the side of fascism at the end of World War II." "Counter-revolutionary." "Regent before World War II." "Prime minister in the 1800's."

Two to six students knew the names of Rajk, I. Nagy, Mindszenty, and Toldy in a tolerable way. I shall not quote the inanities (they wrote, writer, poet, printer, composer). They sensed the most about Rajk: "Partisan, communist martyr." "Martyr, belonged to the workers' movement."

Some readers may be indignant that I accepted as "correct" an answer which named Rakosi as the secretary-general of the MSZMP, although it was the MDP [Hungarian Workers' Party]; the MSZMP did not exist at that time. Well, I also inquired about the MDP. Two out of a total of 118 students gave a correct solution for the acronym, but they wrote nothing else. One of them did also write this about Rakosi: "He was the country's leader in World War II." The other thought he was a "military leader" without naming the period. Also, four of the students were able to name at least four of the six parties operating after the liberation; and 34 were able to name two or three — they mentioned most frequently the Small Holders' Party and the Social

Democratic Party. Ten of them tried out answers like these: "MSZMP, KMP, KISZ." "MSZMP, MKP, KMP, KISZ, DIVSZ." The remaining 70 did not even try. It may well be that these young people are not only unknowledgable about the history of Hungarian parties, but some of them may even think that KISZ [Communist Youth Federation] is a party.

Among the institutions of the period designated by acronyms, the best known was the MHK (21), adding that it was the people's sport movement, the AVH [State Security Authority] (17). But no one knew NEKOSZ [National Association of People's Colleges]; only in one answer was the "k" interpreted by the word "college." One hundred and two students did not even attempt an answer. And among those who tried? — "Nation-wide Communist Federation of National Interests," "National Organization of People's Communists," "People's National Military Federation," "People's Conservative Organization."

Six or seven students knew of the repatriation — the exchange of populations, primarily about the German speakers. A number of them mentioned the "Jewish expatriation," and environmental pollution as reason why industrial relocation to the provinces was begun, and the population in crowded cities moved to the villages.

To the question: "What happened in 1947-1948?" eight students gave a by and large correct answer. Seventeen mentioned at least one important event: "The publication of the 3-year plan. Nationalization." The common term "year of change" did not appear once in the replies, although they learned this term in the 8th grade. They also learned about the Soviet Republic, about 4 April 1945, which we celebrate every year, but there were replies like these: "Hungary's liberation, the defeat of German fascism." "Soviet Republic." The majority of opinions was represented by those who gave no answer, 71 in all; the remainder made a guess with land distribution, publication of the constitution, inflation, appearance of the forint.

Two students gave an exact answer on delivery obligation; 28 students knew it was some kind of produce tax: "Free surrender of surplus food for central distribution." I am not certain whether the secondary school student who gave the latter answer knows when the delivery obligation became current in Hungary. Otherwise, one-fourth of the students thought it meant surrendering weapons after the war.

My next to the last question was on any kind of constructive work. They could write the title of a film, statue, musical composition, book, building, city, whatever, which was made between 1945-1956 and belongs among the economic-intellectual values of the period.

Altogether, ten of them mentioned five or more works, and 33 mentioned fewer, but still works of the period. Most of them mentioned the reconstruction of bridges, Dunaujvaros, and many mentioned Kazincbarcika, the pioneer railway, the People's Stadium. Among works of art the "Budapest Spring" was the leader, along with the several times repeated television show "Somewhere in Europe," before the Liberty Statue. Most of them put down generalities:

"new factories, novels, films, poems, literature, roads." Very many mentioned foreign works: Chaplin films, "The Cranes Fly," beat music, and many of them recalled post-1957 works.

Finally, I asked whether they ever talked about this period anywhere, at home or in school, in KISZ, among their friends. One student replied: "My uncle was burned by the Rajk trial, he was rehabilitated, but since then we do not talk politics at home." The overwhelming majority of them replied affirmatively, but I could not discover the depth of their "yes"; perhaps the above information says something about that.

When my book of socio-reports entitled "Passionate Reports" appeared, a sociographer criticized me severely because the data in my book did not rest on scientific measurements. It is true that now I interviewed 118 people, and 2-4 times as many in the criticized book, without using any scientific apparatus. Unfortunately, scientific studies up to now have not contradicted my findings. Not long ago, I read Zoltan Jakab's "I Heard This Name Before" with the subtitle "The Knowledge of Young People, Their Beliefs About Matyas Rakosi and Laszlo Rajk (published by RADIO ES TELEVIZIO SZEMLE No 11, 1976, Mass Media Research Center).

His work is obviously much more expert than mine, his methods are better; the way he poses a question and works it out is scientific, but the results are surprisingly similar. To give one example: In respect to Matyas Rakosi, Jakab received 16.5 percent replies that were "factually acceptable," and by my lower standards it was 21.2 percent. The 4.7 percent difference may obviously come from error in method or a difference in pattern, but it does not change anything essential.

Most of our young people know frighteningly little about the most important phase of our present history, or of our recent past. And even as we can truly belong to a family only if we know the recent past of our family, our parents, grandparents, near relatives, their deeds of commission and omission, their strengths and weaknesses, so can we belong to the nation only if we know what we can recall from the past with pride, and what kind of historical errors we must avoid. Let us at least learn from our own faults. The love which hangs only on virtues is a light thread that is easy to tear. We love someone truly if we love the person together with his faults, and this means not only our family but our country.

6691

CSO : 2500

ARMY TO HOLD CONFERENCE ON IDEOLOGY

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 25 Jun 77 p 7

[Interview with Colonel Dr Karoly Ban: "Foreword to the Conference on Ideology"]

[Text] The leadership, the political workers of our People's Armed Forces, those who shape the ideology of its personnel, will hold a 1-day conference in the near future. The conference's goal is to review the ideological questions related to the building and defense of the developed socialist society, the development of the class struggle which is going on in the international level, to the tasks before the armed forces; summary and exchange of the rich experiences of ideological work; defining the main directions and tasks of the ideological training work.

On this occasion our editorial office asked Comrade Colonel Dr Karoly Ban, deputy chief of the main political group, to answer some questions of interest to our readers related to the ideology conference.

[Question] Comrade Colonel, what is your opinion of the present status of ideological work now under way in the armed forces, and what are its main characteristics?

[Answer] Planned and successful work is being done in our People's Armed Forces to carry out the resolutions of the 11th Party Congress and the Armed Forces Party Conference. Spreading the principles of Marxism-Leninism, as a result of the character and fundamental purpose of our armed forces, occupies an outstanding, important place in our everyday activities. The system and forms of ideological training work developed in our armed forces have proved successful; ideological-political training and political information are determined by training plans, and conditions are assured in the daily program for those of its aspects which belong under free time and within the framework of public education and political work.

The party committees and party organizations working in the armed forces continually direct, systematically control and evaluate the ideological work. Issues related to this activity occupy an increasingly significant place in the activities of the commanding officers; a great majority of them regularly participate in working out problems ideological in nature, carrying out decisions and providing successful assistance in the preparation of ideological workers.

Our institutions established for this work -- the military press, the Zrinyi Military Publishers, the Financial and Methodological Center for Political Training, the Institute and Museum of Military History and the departments of the military educational institutions -- provide, through their unique means, good assistance in ideological-political work, the extensive spreading of Marxist-Leninist principles and the deepening of the scientific world outlook, as well as the related methodological work.

The conscientious ideological training work extends to every soldier and every worker of the armed forces. It provides the ideological foundations for the party's defense policy, the development of the armed forces and battle readiness tasks on the daily agenda, strengthening the ideological and political unity, and unity in action, of the personnel forces.

The personnel's ideological-political training level improved in recent years, and the foundation of their ideology has been further strengthened. They can be trusted to deal with the issues of the class struggle going on at the international level; they evaluate the processes of society realistically; and they are familiar with the timely tasks of building and defending socialism, and solve these with increasing competence. Our soldiers have an ideological foundation which allows them to perform their everyday service assignments well, standing their positions well in battle exercises, and even more so in the various international exercises; it allows them to see their positions in the solution of the tasks clearly, and act with a high degree of political maturity.

It is characteristic of every manpower category that the ideological and emotional magnetism of socialism has increased, and, together with this, social consciousness has been strengthened. Interest in public matters has increased, as has a healthy critical spirit towards errors. In harmony with society's growth, the ideological-political situation in our armed forces is characterized by balance, strengthened political unity and continuous growth of the morale-disciplinary situation.

[Question] The ideological-political training work in our armed forces is planned and rich. What makes it still necessary to call a conference on ideology?

[Answer] There are many elements in our ideological training, but keeping in mind the requirements of building the advanced socialist society, the international class struggle and the life and activities of the armed forces, even more effective work will be necessary in the future in this area. Because of the tasks of the future and the size of the tasks before us, calling the conference is necessary.

The growth which took place in society as a whole, and also in the armed forces, as well as our realistic plans for the future, commandingly demand the further opening up of reserves in ideological work, increasing the effectiveness of our ideological-political work. We must also recognize that the ideological work we do is not always sufficiently timely and professional, and therefore at times does not completely satisfy rightful expectations.

Our task is to aid, in harmony with the resolutions of the party's 11th Congress and with society's needs, Marxist ideology and the socialist morale and lifestyle based on it in becoming universal in the consciousness and behavior of the labor force. We can also serve the complete realization of defense policy.

Calling the conference is also timely due to the fact that our party's Central Committee passed a highly significant resolution during its 26 February 1976 meeting about the further development of Marxist-Leninist propaganda, and this also places significant demands on us. It demands that we elevate ideological-political work in the armed forces to the level of today's known requirements for the advanced socialist society. This, in part, means that the foundation of our ideological work must be deepened, and also that it must be brought closer to the vocations and everyday activities of the labor force's members. We must indefatigably and knowledgeably train soldiers to possess know-how and needed characteristics, who are able and ready to successfully solve the complex problems which appear in the building and defense of the advanced socialist society, to always represent and carry out the party's defense policy. In the interest of this, the character of our propaganda work must be further developed and the propaganda work's politicizing role and proximity to life must be further expanded so that it may serve even better rapidly changing needs in influencing consciousness.

These make it necessary for us to spend a day now to assure uniform interpretation of the tasks before us and create good conditions for carrying them out. The speeches which will be delivered and the comments of the participants sharing experiences in the conference, yielding useful conclusions which will further broaden our horizon and enrich our practical efforts, will aid in this.

[Question] Could you talk about important issues which will be on the agenda of the ideological conference?

[Answer] Our readers will understand that in a brief interview I cannot undertake to give a detailed account of the issues on the agenda. To emphasize the essentials, the speeches given at the conference will summarize the experiences of our ideological work since the party's 11th Congress, and they will mark out the main directions of our future work in relation to the country and to the armed forces. Showing both projections of our tasks is an important element of the conference because, on the one hand, the same processes fundamentally influence the armed forces as influence society, yet on the other hand our People's Armed Forces have a well defined place and role in society.

Therefore, the primary issues on the conference's agenda are the complexities of building the advanced socialist society, the requirements of developing the economic life, tasks related to the further development of socialist democracy, and generalizing the socialist consciousness and life-style in the nation. At the same time, those issues which, even though they relate to the entire society, must be seen clearly and understood correctly by, and are primarily of great significance for, the soldiers, due to the nature and functions of the People's Armed Forces. In today's international situation the important things are the international class struggle, the issues of socialism's political strategy and the place and role of the socialist armed forces.

All these specify for the armed forces a series of things to be done, the understanding of which has great significance in ideological work. The range of issues listed, even without detailed elaboration, provide sufficient foundation for reaching the conclusion that the harmony between the ideological-political training conducted in society and in the armed forces must be strengthened. We claim that the armed forces is a great training institution for our youth, and this is so. Youth develops intellectually, and becomes stronger, tougher, and more persevering in the armed forces. The educational work of the family, school, place of employment is continued with increasing circumspection, better preparation and results. We must ensure that the armed forces assumes and fulfills an even greater role in the future as a "unique youth institution" in the ideological training of youth, preparing them for the tasks of the future.

I will complete my answer to the question by saying that the issues noted above do not pertain exclusively to ideological and ideological-political education. The public educational activity in the armed forces, professional and amateur artistic work, scientific research; in a word, all those areas which we treat as pertaining to the realm of ideological work, must serve to increase knowledge of these issues, identification with the Marxist truths hidden in them and mobilization for action.

[Question] Finally, we would like to ask what ideas or plans have been formulated to carry out the message and the experiences of the ideological conference.

[Answer] We plan to forward the conference's material to all interested parties. Then the military press will elaborate on the important ideas of the material, one at a time, in theoretical publications. We expect that each participant of the conference will relay the things heard to those in his own field, and will mobilize to carry them out. We consider these procedures and methods expeditious, and feel that there is no need to conduct ideological conferences at the division, major unit or unit levels.

But I consider it important that everyone should carefully compare the conference's conclusions on the various topics and the defined tasks with the situation of his own field, and, starting from there, integrate the necessary issues of ideological, political and cultural educational work into local mass political work and public educational activity.

The usefulness of this conference will also be measurable in actions; this will depend on how the participating commanding officers and political and field activists who studied the conference material translate the correct principles and methods into practice. We trust work that we will be even more conscious in shaping the outlook and behavior of our personnel, and we will all start to work towards this goal with determination.

Our conference meets during the same year in which we are preparing to properly celebrate the Great October Socialist Revolution's 60th anniversary, in unison with the world's progressive forces.

I am convinced that the programs related to celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will provide good opportunities for the successful solution of our problems, which will receive great emphasis at the conference, and for the enrichment of educational work. I believe I don't have to try to prove that we can derive ideological fortitude and good experiences for the solution of our problems from Lenin's legacy and from the rich revolutionary experiences of six decades.

We can celebrate the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution most properly if we examine and answer the present and future questions of our socialist society and of our armed forces on the basis of the historical experience of Leninism, in its spirit, advancing its truth, in a creative manner.

We have something to build on! Our armed forces are ideologically firm and deeply committed to our party's policy. Organized and successful work is done in every aspect of the military life. Society and the armed forces have never been as uniform in carrying out goals and noble efforts as they are today, and this will become even stronger by translating the materials of the ideological conference into practice and properly celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

[Interviewer] Comrade Colonel, thank you for this information, on behalf of our readers.

AUTHOR WOROSZYLSKI WANTS WEST TO KNOW OF POLISH HARASSMENT

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 5 Jul 77 p 15

["ok" article: "Work Prohibition for Nonconformist Writers in Poland -- Open Letter From Wiktor Woroszylski to Heinrich Boell"]

[Text] A Polish writer has now turned to German Nobel Prize-Winner Heinrich Boell with an open letter, in which he reports in bitter words about his own fate and that of his colleagues: Wiktor Woroszylski, representative of the middle generation of Polish writers, at one time a convinced communist, later a skeptic and today a liberal. As author of the books "The Life of Mayakovsky," "Dreams Under the Snow," many volumes of poems and numerous children's books, he is also known in the West. During the time of the thaw in 1956 and until the literary press was brought into line by Gomulka, he was editor-in-chief of the weekly NOWA KULTURA.

Since his dismissal Woroszylski has lived as a free-lance writer, attempting to make his contribution to contemporary Polish literature in spite of the intervention of the political censorship. In spite of the many refusals by state publishing houses and the mass media, he succeeded for a time in getting some things published. However, the most important among his most recent works, the novel "Literature," the collected short stories "Stories," and a volume of commentaries "Return Home," became victims of the censorship. In the meantime, Woroszylski, together with some other writers, was hit with a ban -- which virtually means a prohibition to exercise his profession. He describes how it came to this in his open letter to Heinrich Boell, from which we cite some important passages verbatim.

Ostracism

"The constant presence of a censor looking over my shoulder, it goes without saying, made my daily work rather difficult. I accepted it only with

difficulty, but somehow I went on working and living. I was held back from a more pointed rebellion -- for example, from publishing abroad what I could not publish at home -- by the realization that in this case I would have been prohibited from publishing anything in Poland; in short, like many others, I paid the high price for a crippled, crooked existence, but nevertheless an existence of a sort in my own country, for some kind of coexistence with Polish readers whom, I believed, I had no right to leave. Reduced, but not entirely eliminated in the offerings of the bookstores, I was after all present and could not relinquish this presence.

"However, this, too, proved to be temporary, for our system knows not only the procedure of eliminating individual words, sentences, or whole works through the sensor; people, their works and names are also eliminated, in the literary landscape gaps develop from one day to the next, the ostracism also sends its repercussions into the depths of the history of literature, the more immediate and the more remote. Some day nobody, and especially no young person, is to know any more that a certain writer is living or lived and that he played a role in the literary process of his time. The writer himself may ask: Do I really exist? How do I exist if I am silent, if I have been gagged and all traces of me have been removed from encyclopedias and libraries?

"As for me, such 'annihilation' already happened to me once, in 1968, as punishment for my participation in the protest of Polish writers against the prohibition of the performance of Mickiewicz's "Ancestors" in the Warsaw National Theater. But the black list was in effect at that time only for a relatively short period and was not applied with a great deal of consistency. For example, I was not forbidden to do translations; in this way I managed to survive. This time I have ceased to exist for the second year in a row (1976-1977); not only has the type of my finished books been destroyed in the printing-presses, not only is a contract for a new book with me out of the question, not only am I not allowed to publish a lyrical poem in a literary journal, not only is no critic allowed to write about me, but my children's books, too, including the adaptation of "Don Quijote," and my translations of Pushkin and other Russian poets have been blocked. And even that is not enough! I am no longer allowed to write and to translate even under pseudonyms; abroad, too, I am supposed to be nonexistent, for the prohibition against printing any of my writings extends to the Soviet Union, the GDR and the CSSR, and I have just found out that they have managed to remove my poems from an anthology that will appear in Spanish in Madrid. All of these penalties fell upon me at first for one reason (in time others were found): In January 1976 I signed a collective letter addressed to the Polish parliament in which the signatories protested against the introduction of a paragraph in the Polish Constitution.

Other Examples

"What happened to me also happened to my colleagues -- the Polish writers Jacek Bochenski, Kazimierz Brandys, Andrzej Drawicz, Marek Nowakowski, and

and many others. It also happened to the outstanding theater and radio producer Jerzy Markuszewski, who has not been allowed to accept work for the past two seasons; when a few months ago a provincial theater dared to entrust him with the production of a play, the rehearsals were brutally interrupted by the local authorities. The same goes for many scientists, especially the younger ones -- among my personal acquaintances, for the chemist Mirosław Chojecki and the sociologists Andrzej Celinski and Paweł Spiewak.

"Repressive measures strike a person for signing letters and petitions addressed to the authorities if they contain independent opinions, for solidarity with the persecuted workers of Ursus and Radom, among whom many have not yet been freed and many are unemployed, sometimes simply for social relations with individuals who belong to the so-called opposition.

Police Chicanery

"In my case, too, it does not end with the ban on exercising one's profession. For 20 years, indeed, since the time that I edited NOWA KULTURA, I have been under constant police surveillance, my telephone conversations, and not only these, are monitored and patched together in more or less tendentious reports which land on the desks of various Central Committee celebrities and other party bosses. My correspondence is checked and frequently lost. During police interrogations, my acquaintances are told malicious and slanderous nonsense about me, and in the end the nonsense is also spread in pamphlets for internal party use.

"But in the area of police chicanery and persecution, too, they have now gone further: During a move in January my family was accompanied in a demonstrative manner by three cars whose occupants had the nerve to enter the staircase and threshold of my apartment in order to have a look; in the same month of January, six civilian officials of the security police broke into the apartment of a secretary, just as she was typing my book; they conducted a search of the house and an interrogation lasting several hours, during which they thoroughly studied my papers. Naturally I shall not enumerate all the constitutional guarantees that are violated by such proceedings on the part of the police.

"Trips abroad constitute another area for chicanery and enslavement of the citizens. When I applied for a passport during the past 20 years, I never knew whether authorization or rejection was in store for me. I could never plan a trip, I was always dependent on the caprice of the all-powerful authorities.

Life Without Illusions

"And so I live -- without the right to work, without the right to travel, without the right to a public defense against chicanery and slander -- in

country, which for years, and paradoxically not without justification, has been regarded as the most tolerable of the socialist countries. That's how I live, how we live; and I will remain here, and continue to write, and do what I consider to be right, be friends with whomever I like. In a few days I will be 50, the hope to live and see everything change radically is constantly diminishing. I have definitely lost any illusion that in this system, whatever we call it and which at one time did contain creative elements, anything has remained or could once again flourish. Those who embody this system are only capable of indifferent leveling, of vindictive destruction: the living fabric of culture, the authentic social bonds and every individual human destiny. With this force, even if it be only a form of weakness, with this roller that crushes everything in its way, one cannot come to an agreement about conditions for coexistence, one can only accept one's nonexistence submissively or exist against its will, according to the measure and weight of one's No and one's will to survive.

"If this is how things are, what could hold me back from articulating publicly what I have experienced and in particular to tell you, who certainly understand that I do not demand pity or intervention, but merely wish it to be known. What is there to restrain me from entrusting my books, which are forbidden in Poland, to a Polish emigre publisher, in the hope that in this roundabout way they will find their way back here some day? New kinds of repression and slander -- yes, one can be sure of them. But does it still have any significance there, where they have gone too far anyway?"

8970

CSO: 2300

POLAND

REQUIREMENTS FOR GOOD POLISH-FRG RELATIONS VIEWED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 4 Apr 77 pp 25-44

[Article by Jerzy Sulek, Director of the Department of Problems of European Security of the Polish Institute of International Affairs: "The Political Relations of Poland and the FRG in the Seventies"]

[Excerpt] Prospects for Future Development

The period of the past six years can be acknowledged as the most difficult period in the process of normalization. Nevertheless, it was equally as difficult as it was fruitful. In a relatively short time, both sides succeeded--despite considerable difficulties and opposition--in giving relations between Poland and the FRG a completely new dimension. In the present situation it is no longer a matter of whether to normalize or who wants to normalize relations, or what conditions normalization ought to be carried out, but rather, "as new good neighborly relations between the two countries can come about on the basis of an actual normalization,...not repeated declarations of intent about normalization, but concrete steps toward normalization will be the proof of a new beginning." (Deputy chairman of the SPD faction in the Bundestag, B. Friedrich, in SPD-PRESSEDIENST 9 Jan 76.)

In the historical dimension--that is, for the generations which will come after us--not the years 1970-76, but the period which is just beginning, will have decisive meaning. Heretofore sense and political courage were the requirements for the governments of both countries, currently we will have to show pertinacity and persistence. For the main task before both sides in the immediate future will be the creation of an infrastructure of a developed and deepened normalization, that is, of a thick network of numerous understandings and linkages, which should compose the normal and widely applied, in international trade, structure of peaceful co-operation of two countries with different socio-economic systems.

The course of the process of normalization up to this time shows that temporary measures or single actions are inadequate to fulfill the high demands of the policy of normalization. A lasting understanding between the two countries as the end effect of a developed normalization of relations can be the result only

of gradual and drawn-out development. It will not come about automatically from only the quantitative growth of mutual relations or from other processes (e.g., from the development of processes of decreasing tension in the international arena). The politics of understanding Poland and the FRG also cannot be treated as owing to the actual existing state of affairs, as an object of internal political maneuverings. It must have historical dimensions and, therefore, it demands not only conscious decisions and thoughtout steps, but unceasing care, interest, and effort on the part of the governments, the political circles, and the very societies of Poland and the FRG. Normalization should, therefore, be taken as a constant assignment and duty, carried out equally in the common, as in the separate, well understood interest of each of the sides. (See P. Bender, "Normalization Is a Constant Requirement," Cologne, DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German No 2, Feb 76.)

CSO: 2600

WARSAW UNIVERSITY RECTOR ON STUDENT DISTURBANCES, DISCIPLINE

Warsaw TYGODNIK KULTURALNY in Polish 19 Jun 77 pp 1, 4

[Excerpts from Bartlomiej Golka interview with Prof Dr Zygmunt Rybicki, Rector of Warsaw University]

[Text] [Question] Rector, Warsaw University is the greatest forge of cadres with a university education in the country. How should a graduate of this University differ from the graduates of other socialist institutions of education? Should these differences, if any exist, be found in the sphere of socio-political awareness? Let me make it clear that I am not referring to an evaluation, but to differences.

[Answer] I do not see any basic differences in the area of the concept of shaping the attitudes of Warsaw University students in comparison with students from other institutes. It seems to me that the basic assumptions must be the same, since they derive from the general developmental tendencies of the country and of society. On the other hand I believe that in Warsaw we must levy higher demands on the students and anticipate other institutions in the constant raising of standards. We are developing a society, and in all fields of our activity we are placing new qualitative demands upon ourselves, but primarily our task should concern higher education, which achieves two essential goals: the formation of graduates, their knowledge and their social awareness, and also the development of scientific research. Each of these must outstrip normal development. Unless we outstrip the knowledge of cadres leading this development, without advanced scientific research, it is impossible to develop an already industrialized nation with a basically shaped social structure. Therefore, if we define requirements in relation to society, they must be higher and precede other fields in relation to higher education. *

Obviously this also refers to our institution. The metropolitan status of Warsaw University is neither a particular advantage nor a special burden, but a fact from which definite consequences derive. For example, in the natural course of things a considerable number of our graduates reinforce various central institutions, while experience shows that some fulfill

responsible functions in the course of time. Therefore, while there may exist an average group of requirements in the country, it is by no means because of capital megalomania that we wish our requirements to be very much higher. I believe that the academic teaching environment is convinced of this fact, but I do not know if this conviction has gained sufficient popularity in the student circles. It should be added that we do not by any means want to recruit students to study under special principles. The truth is rather that, among other reasons, it is quite difficult to get into Warsaw University because of the concentration of people in the capital, and because we have considerably more candidates for some areas of specialization than the national average.

[Question] However, do the current structure and methods of university teaching allow influence on awareness to be considerably increased or transformed? Does not teaching effectiveness require, for example, freeing scientific workers from extracurricular obligations?

[Answer] We spoke about characteristics which an academic teacher should possess. We do not need any thinkers separated from life and social reality. We would like every academic teacher to be not only a high ranking scholar and teacher, but also an organizer of the life of our institution. For this reason when we consider promotions, we ask the question of what this person has done for Warsaw University, and what his organizational abilities are. We take the answer to this question into consideration along with an evaluation of other elements. The structure of the institution and methods of teaching are always subject to change. At the beginning of this academic year, for example, we placed before the Senate the problem of so-called quasi-alternating studies. What does this mean? We are reproached because, as a result of a lack of sufficient contact between our graduates and social, scientific and organizational life, work on the master's level is characterized by excessive abstraction, and presents the results of speculation which is not always directed toward vital and essential problems. Another reproach concerns the quality of practice. Still another one is an unsatisfactory selection of knowledge, since we are more likely to add than to select, which causes excessive strain during the time of study.

We have proposed the following solution. Between the last academic year and the previous one we would have liked to organize a yearly period of work which would permit making an active choice of a place of employment and an increase in practical experience. Obviously this is nothing new.

[Question] What is your evaluation of the academic year just ending at Warsaw University? Will next year bring any essential changes in the teaching process and in the achievement of academic goals?

[Answer] An evaluation of the academic year coming to an end must include many aspects in the operation of the institution. This is the 2nd year of the 5-year plan, and this fact has very great significance for research, particularly in connection with the new financing principles, that is, for centrally controlled research. Principles were introduced to limit some financial means, particularly those associated with the income of the people and with wages. At the same time the dynamic increase in our share in scientific research is tremendous. The last year of the previous plan ended with a value for centrally controlled research within the limits of 130-140 million zlotys, and in the current year *its* value has already exceeded one quarter of a billion zlotys. Therefore it is understandable that larger requests for funds are limited.

However, scientific research must not be regarded only from the point of view of financial difficulties. This research is of tremendous importance in the education of students and cadres. At present the workers in our institution are carrying out 2,490 scientific research subjects, and the majority of these form research within the framework of centrally controlled problems and agreements concluded by university laboratories with various institutions. In general we are very satisfied with the development of scientific research although, as I said, a number of difficulties are cropping up in association with the fact that they are being carried out on such a scale for the first time. Thus, some difficulties are showing up in the area of apparatus, material means and so on. However, we are advocates of further development of this research.

We have concentrated about 30,000 students and about 6,000 workers, including 3,000 academic teachers, in Warsaw University. These numbers include our branch in Bialystok. This year more than 3,000 graduates and candidates for degrees will swell the walls of the university. The problems of their reasonable employment are of great interest to us, and it can be said that, in spite of some difficulties, these matters are solved in conformity with the hopes and aspirations of the young people, thanks to the actions of the central and capital authorities, and of the voivodship authorities, particularly those in the northeast with which we have rather close contacts.

In the current academic year we have also made progress in the area of improving teaching cadres. The first group of young workers has finished their postgraduate study of preparation to become academic teachers, and we place a very positive evaluation on the program of studies and its realization with the participation of many outstanding scholars in our institution.

We are satisfied with the fact that the concern of the authorities for our material conditions has proven to be even greater. The capital authorities in particular have been concerned with a number of problems pointed out by

us in the area of housing difficulties. We hope that by the end of the current calendar year two large buildings will be placed at our disposal for social studies, which will improve the situation to some degree.

Therefore we have some reasons to be satisfied in matters essential for the institution, as well as further problems. We have already spoken about the level of graduates. This information would not be complete if we omitted a matter of really rather small numbers, but of some importance for the educational process. I am thinking about the repeated attempts to exploit events in our country, and not only within the country, to agitate student opinion which is sensitive to questions of morality and justice. It is very good that there is this sensitivity, but it is bad that the sensitivity is not accompanied by a sufficient degree of experience in life, in an awareness conditioned by various phenomena and activities. For this reason the good will of students is sometimes exploited by people who consciously wish to take advantage of this sensitivity for their own purposes. Such behavior at Warsaw University has found some allies who have cooperated by adopting negative activities and trying to propagate them. We are upset by the fact that individual students have become participants in public activities and demonstrations contrary to the assumptions established in the legal regulations on which the social order of our country is based. These are already matters which exceed our competence, since they are done outside the institution, but we feel ourselves interested in them. We have come to the conclusion, and we still hold to this attitude in Warsaw University, that although these are not widespread phenomena, we must become involved in them because they refer to the younger generation. We must embrace every effort which can lead to a full, reasonable and objectivized evaluation, not only of the mottoes actually advanced by the young people and their content, but also of their political intentions, which are negative and complement the activities of various anti-Polish and anti-communist circles which still exist in the world, thanks to the forces opposed to detente. It seems to me that a great deal of importance is to be found in patient clarification, a preference for direct conversations with students, discussing things with them because they are people who will have to justify their activities in their own working circles in the future. From this point of view recommendations should terminate a certain process of interpersonal relationships, not replace it. Therefore we would like students to converse and discuss and we would like those who bandy about their mottoes of free discussion so much **not to disrupt it.**

We are following the principle that all subjects can be accepted, even if questions are not the result of a student's reflections, but rather promptings from someone else. At the same time we wish to show young people how to think to avoid being maneuvered into a situation where they become an instrument or object of manipulation. This is not a question which we treat on an emergency level, but rather a process of education of an involved citizen. We must accept it thoughtfully for each person, since we believe that everyone, even those who have performed some negative activities, has a chance of becoming a fully responsible citizen.

This does not mean that if cases of disruption of the order established by regulations in Warsaw University were to crop up, we would not take disciplinary action, but this is an extreme measure and no one wants to think about extreme measures.

I believe that a real expression of the authentic involvement of students was the manifestation of 1 May, in which almost 7,000 students and workers of Warsaw University participated, and this fact must be considered in our evaluations.

There is another very important matter. The institution wishes to perform its normal functions, and concentrate its main concern on what is most essential, the teaching process, research and the formation of civic attitudes.

[Question] Thank you very much, Sir, for finding the time for the readers of TYGODNIK KULTURALNY despite your preoccupation with the complex matters of Warsaw University.

6806

CSO: 2600

POLAND

JAGIELSKI CITES POLISH EFFORTS TO BOOST ECONOMY, LIVING STANDARDS

Moscow EKONMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 30, 1977 signed to press 18 Jul 77
pp 20-21 LD

[Article by M. Jagielski, member of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers: "Path Determined by Ideas of Great October"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted noting the importance of the October Revolution, praising the draft of the new Soviet Constitution and stressing the importance of Soviet-Polish Friendship and cooperation]

A New Stage in Poland's Development

In the economic sphere the building of a developed socialist society in our country requires that the undivided supremacy of socialist production relations be insured in the city and the countryside, that the corresponding material and technical base be created and the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution be combined with the advantages of socialism, that the increasingly full satisfaction of social requirements and the people's increasingly high living standard be insured on the basis of the growth of the productivity of labor and the improvement of its quality.

In the social sphere the program to build a developed socialist society should insure the deeper implementation of the principles of social justice, the further rapprochement of the classes and strata of working people, the creation of opportunities for man's all-round development and the gradual formation of a socially homogenous socialist society.

In the political sphere it is a case of the further strengthening of the state which under the leadership of the working class embodies the will and interests of the entire people. The development and improvement of socialist democracy is becoming an increasingly important factor in the working people's political activation and the expansion of their initiative in realizing the aims set by the party.

In the sphere of ideology and education the Seventh Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress defined as the key task at the present moment the reinforcement of Marxism-Leninism in people's consciousness, the molding of the socialist way of life and the intensification and strengthening of socialist patriotism and the sense of civic duties and discipline.

In the sphere of international relations the program to build a developed socialist society defined by the Seventh PZPR Congress sets as the main task the further strengthening of our country's internationalist unification with the land of the Soviets and the community of socialist states, the intensification of socialist economic integration, the strengthening of solidarity with the International Communist and Workers Movement and also collaboration with the peoples embarking on the path of progress, democracy and socialism.

Drawing from the Treasury of the USSR's Experience

In creating the developed socialist society we draw and will continue to draw on the treasury of the USSR's experience. A profound analysis of the processes which promoted the all-round development of the Soviet society and state is contained in the documents of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. The creative experiences of the CPSU reflects not only the problems which the party of Soviet communists and the people of the land of the Soviets are resolving but also contains values and truths which are considerably broader and more universal and is a collection of natural laws topical for all socialist countries.

The welfare of man and concern for the all-round satisfaction of his growing requirements is the main idea of our programs and the paramount issue of the activity of the CPSU, the PZPR and the other fraternal parties which are leading the building of socialism and communism.

These aims can be achieved only if dynamic, harmonious and effective economic development is insured, for the people's well-being is created only by the daily, efficient labor of the working people. It is precisely thanks to the efforts of the working people whom our party guides and directs that Poland's strength is growing and the people's well-being is increasing. In 1971-1976 we increased produced national income 70 percent and per capita income 61 percent, the volume of industrial production 82 percent and the volume of agricultural production 18.5 percent.

The progress in the economy and its growing potential and labor productivity growth have made it possible to increase real wages 47.1 percent in 1971-1976, while the incomes of the rural population have increased in the same proportion. All workers of the socialized sector of the national economy were covered by a wages adjustment.

The plans for 1976-1980 elaborated on the basis of the decisions of the Seventh PZPR Congress are described by the slogan: For the Higher Quality of Labor and the People's Higher Standard of Living. In accordance with the

Congress' decision, during the seventies national income is to increase at least 130 percent and the volume of industrial production at least 150 percent. A further growth of agricultural production is envisaged. Fixed capital in the national economy is to double and be radically modernized. One of the main tasks for the next few years is that of coming close to resolving the housing problem. We are striving to insure that by as early as the middle of the eighties every Polish family has its own apartment.

The plans for 1976-1980 are not a simple continuation of our activity in the first half of the seventies. Work is continuing consistently within the framework of social program and on the increasingly fuller satisfaction of man's paramount requirements. But on the path toward achieving this aim it is necessary to take into account the new, changed reality. This reality involves a decline in the growth in manpower and the need to make good the damage caused to Polish agriculture by three successive years of unfavorable weather conditions (1974-1976) and the tension in foreign trade caused by the crisis and inflation phenomena in the capitalist economy. But at the same time the higher level of knowledge, ability and experience of the working people and the fact that the rapid growth of capital investments in the first half of the seventies is now producing a return in the form of a rapid increase in new, very modern production capacities--this is also a reality.

A decisive factor in using these advantages and overcoming difficulties is the improvement of the quality of labor and the growth of the efficiency of economic management, and the more rational use of labor, machinery, equipment, raw and semifinished materials, that is, the assimilation of all reserves and a considerable improvement in the correlation between expenditures and results. A regrouping is also taking place now in the distribution of the forces and assets which we have at our disposal. Heightened attention is being paid to the top-priority sectors, which are: The production of consumer goods for the domestic market and the production, the continuation of the socialist transformations in the countryside and the acceleration of housing construction.

Along the Path of Socialist Integration

We will achieve the aims we have set and above all the raising of the efficiency of economic management all the more rapidly and fully the better and more active use we make of the potential created by the development of the processes of socialist economic integration, particularly the intensification of cooperation with our most important and largest partner--the Soviet Union. Economic cooperation, which we are now expending by implementing the comprehensive program for the CEMA countries' socialist economic integration, is facilitating and accelerating the socioeconomic development of each of them, as was convincingly stressed at the 31st CEMA session sitting in June in Warsaw.

CEMA's glorious and fruitful activity, which is developing along an ascending curve with every passing year, and the processes of socialist economic integration strengthening within its framework show the world a vivid example of

the relations of the new type. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed in his greetings to the participants in the 28th jubilee session of CEMA, the activity of CEMA is "a unique experiment in equal cooperation between a large group of countries, the harmonious combination of their national and international interests and the practical implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism.

The party of Polish communists, the working class and our entire people see in the all-round development of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries and in the process of the expansion and improvement of socialist economic integration one of the decisive factors of the successful implementation of bold national economic plans, the further development of our economy and the improvement of the people's living standard, and of our country's fitting contribution to the strengthening of the socialist community.

"People's Poland, which was born as a result of the fusion of the struggle for independence with the social revolution," Comrade E. Gierek said at the 25th CPSU Congress, "represents the implementation of the vital aspirations of our people and guarantees them a worthy, sovereign status, dynamic economic development and the flourishing of science and culture. This is the result of the selfless labor of the people under the new, socialist conditions and at the same time the results of the fraternal friendship and cooperation and indestructible alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union. Our unity is a confirmation of the imperishable values of internationalism. It is conditioned by the vital interests of the Polish people and their patriotic aspirations."

In implementing the complex tasks stemming from the decisions of the Seventh PZPR Congress, and stepping up their work to fulfill plan targets, the Polish working class and all working people are greeting the 33d anniversary of the July manifesto and the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with a remarkable initiative which has received the name of "Baton of the October Initiative." This initiative has now gripped the whole country. The high labor pledges adopted in honor of our national holiday and the 60th anniversary of "The days which shook the world" attest that in the Poles' consciousness our motherland's present prosperity is inextricably linked with Great October which began a new stage in the history of the world and the history of all mankind.

CSO: 1800

POLAND

AIR FORCE TECHNICAL INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES NOTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 June 77 pp 1, 5

[Article by Lt Br. Hynowski: "Confrontation Between Theory and Practice"]

[Text] Flight activities at the Warsaw National Air Defense 1st Fighter Regiment were no different that day from other days. But on this day there were guests on the airfield in addition to command personnel and instructors -- members of the Scientific Council of the Air Force Technical Institute, accompanied by the commandant, Col Mgr Engr Zbigniew Stankiewicz. The institute's vigorously active Scientific Council views visits to line units not only as a confrontation between science and reality but at the same time as a form of preparation for its subsequent activities.

Seeking to bring theory and practice together to the greatest possible degree, the scientists in uniform and civilian clothes came to the 1st Fighter Regiment in order directly to see the effects of the practical application of their elaborations, to become more closely acquainted with pilot training and working conditions, as well as to discuss the major problems of flight technology, which require additional detailed studies and scientific analyses.

When pilots 1st class Capt Antoni Ozarowski and Sr Lt Janusz Rybicki were engaged in preflight activities, the scientists were interested in the details of their clothing and gear, designed for performing missions at high altitudes, at both subsonic and supersonic speeds. When the two MiG-21s taxied to the active runway and smoothly took off from the concrete strip, the scientists began asking questions about the most difficult phases of flight, methods employed in command and control of flight operations, as well as maintaining communications during flight activities involving great distances and low altitudes.

A communications relay transmitter was developed at the Air Force Technical Institute, for which the development team received a commendation from the Minister of National Defense in 1974. Today this equipment effectively increases communications range during flight activities involving great distances and low altitudes.

A development team also received a commendation from the chairman of the Atomic Energy Administration for equipment for investigating and measuring radioactive contamination of the atmosphere.

A field unit for aircraft diagnostic inspection developed at ITWL [Air Force Technical Institute] is highly practical and greatly appreciated by ground maintenance personnel. This equipment has made it possible in many instances to discover metal fatigue cracks at an early stage. It has also made it possible to correct in advance conditions which could lead to air accidents.

During the ITWL Scientific Council field excursion, headed by Docent Dr Engr Stefan Okoniewski, much attention was focused on the research plan for the following year, taking into account advances made in the last 2 years as well as current air force needs. A characteristic feature of this plan is a uniform distribution of labor required for solving problems: sector, ministry-branch, and others. An important area of institute activity is improvement of military aircraft, improvement in the quality of ground servicing and maintenance as well as increased flight safety.

Research in the specializing sections has provided the Scientific Council with interesting research conclusions in the following areas: mechanics of flight, avionics, equipment maintenance, and airfield construction. Col Docent Dr Hab Engr Jerzy Lewitowicz and Prof Kazimierz Glebicki have devoted considerable attention to the following problems: improvement in aircraft design and instrumentation, modernization of aircraft armament, improved efficiency of servicing and maintenance of aircraft equipment, and design of radio and radar control systems.

One result of the activities of the scientists at ITWL is realistic standard service life figures for certain aircraft assemblies and components. For example, for several hydraulic system components they have extended the service life figure by 100 percent, contributing to further standardization of these components. On the other hand, uniform servicing procedures reduce labor requirements by 40 percent and considerably extend intervals between repairs for aircraft equipment.

Among topics of interest to individual specialist sections are extending possibilities of utilization of computer hardware for numerical operations. Considerable attention is also devoted to the problem of durability and refurbishing of runway and taxiway surfaces. It was also pointed out that cost-economy methods of airfield maintenance do not always provide a savings when one considers the cost of repairing aircraft engines damaged by ingested foreign objects. Interesting proposals relating to the above topics were stated during the discussion session by Col Docent Dr Engr Mieczyslaw Sikorski, Col Docent Dr Hab Engr Jerzy Jazwinski, Prof Wladyslaw Araszkiwicz, and others.

The ITWL Scientific Council is constantly concerned with improving the level of qualifications of the institute's cadres. During the field session they

particularly scrutinized the progress made in doctoral and docent dissertations. They also pointed out topics which in the near future should become the object of particular interest on the part of the cadres, and particularly the youngest scientific personnel.

The fact that at the time when the field session of the Scientific Council was being held a team of ITWL personnel was conducting studies at the airfield of the Warsaw National Air Defense 1st Fighter Regiment on updating the equipment of the MiG-21 aircraft is one more eloquent example of the direct contacts between scientists and pilots.

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END